



A CONFERENCE OF PLEASURE.



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G. I. F. Trupper,
from
The Duke of Northumberland

15th Oct. 18



A CONFERENCE OF PLEASURE.



A
CONFERENCE OF PLEASURE,
COMPOSED FOR SOME FESTIVE
OCCASION ABOUT THE
YEAR 1592
BY FRANCIS BACON.

EDITED, FROM A MANUSCRIPT BELONGING TO
THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
BY JAMES SPEDDING.



LONDON:
PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS.
1870.



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INTRODUCTION.

IN the supplement to a volume of "Letters of the Lord Chancellor Bacon," published in 1734, and commonly referred to as "Stephens's second collection," several of his smaller pieces, both political and philosophical, appeared in print for the first time: among the rest, two of the most remarkable of his early compositions—namely, "Mr. Bacon's discourse in prayse of his Sovereigne" and "Mr. Bacon in prayse of knowledge;"—of which the history and true character has been hitherto doubtful.

My own conjecture was that they both formed part of some fanciful device presented at the Court of Elizabeth in 1592; and accordingly, in the last edition of Bacon's works, the arrangement of which was suggested by myself, I reserved them for their place among what I call his "occasional" writings of that year, and introduced them with some explanatory remarks which will form the most convenient introduction to what follows.

“They were found,” I said, writing in 1861, “among the papers submitted to Stephens by Lord Oxford, and printed by Locker in the supplement to his second collection in 1734. The MSS. are still to be seen in the British Museum; fair copies in an old hand, with the titles given above, but no further explanation. My reason for suspecting that they were composed for some masque, or show, or other fictitious occasion, is partly that the speech in praise of knowledge professes to have been spoken in “a conference of pleasure,” and the speech in praise of Elizabeth appears by the opening sentence to have been preceded by three others, one of which *was* in praise, of knowledge; partly that, earnest and full of matter as they both are, (the one containing the germ of the first book of the *Novum Organum*, the other of the “Observations on a Libel,” which are nothing less than a substantial historical defence of the Queen’s government,) there is nevertheless in the *style* of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon’s other compositions of this kind, and agreeable to the taste of the time; but so alien to his own individual taste and natural manner, that there is no single feature by which his style is more specially distinguished, wherever he speaks in his own person, whether formally or familiarly, whether in the way of narrative, argument, or oration, than the total absence of it. That these pieces were both composed for some occasion of com-

pliment, more or less fanciful, I feel very confident ; and if it should ever appear that about the autumn of 1592 (the date to which the historical allusions in the discourse in praise of Elizabeth point most nearly) a “device” was exhibited at Court, in which three speakers came forward in turn, each extolling his own favourite virtue (a form which Bacon affected on these occasions, as will appear hereafter in two notable examples),—the first delivering an oration in praise of magnanimity, the second of love, the third of knowledge,—and then a fourth came in with an oration in praise of the Queen, as combining in herself the perfection of all three ; I should feel little doubt that the pieces before us were composed by Bacon for that exhibition. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of the Queen’s day in 1592 ; we only know that it was “more solemnised than ever, and *that through my Lord of Effex his device.*”

“What little we do know of the facts therefore is compatible with my conjecture. Effex adorned the triumphs of the 17th of November, 1592, with some distinguished “device,” and Bacon was about the Court. If any news-letter giving an account of the solemnities should turn up, it would probably settle the question one way or other. In the meantime, this is the proper place for the Discourse in praise of the Queen, being the date which the several allusions in it best fit ; and in the absence of all other grounds of conjecture as to the time when the “Praise of

Knowledge" was composed, the allusion in the opening sentence of the other is ground enough for placing it here."¹

Such was the state of the question up to the year 1867, when the discovery in Northumberland House of a manuscript containing copies of some of Bacon's early writings threw a little fresh light upon it. In that year, Earl Percy (now Duke of Northumberland) wishing to have the papers in his possession properly examined, preserved, and those of public interest turned to account, had requested the late Mr. John Bruce, whose loss is so deeply felt by all persons interested in historical and antiquarian literature, to inspect them. In one of the bundles submitted to him he found a paper book, much damaged by fire about the edges, though not so much as to make the contents generally undecipherable; and the piece which stood first, under the odd and not very significant title of "Mr. Fr: Bacon of tribute or giving that w^{ch} is due," proved on examination to be a copy of the entire device of which the "praise of knowledge" and the "praise of his sovereign," formed part. It did not indeed throw any new light upon the date or the occasion, but it completely explained the order and plan of it; which is very simple. Four friends, distinguished as A, B, C, and D, meet for intellectual amusement. A assumes the direction of their pro-

¹ Letters and Life of Bacon, vol. i. p. 119.

ceedings, and proposes that each in turn shall make a speech in praise of whatever he holds most worthy. Upon which B (after a word or two of protest in favour of fatigue, as better suited to the humour of the time than praise) begins with a speech in praise of "the worthiest virtue," namely, Fortitude. C follows with a speech in praise of "the worthiest affection," namely, Love. D with a speech in praise of "the worthiest power," namely, Knowledge. And A himself concludes with a speech in praise of "the worthiest person," namely, the Queen.

The two first of these speeches being quite new, and the transcript of the others being more correct than that used by Stephens, it was thought worth while to print the entire piece; and I have been charged with the duty of editor.

The two last speeches present little or no difficulty. The lost words can all be supplied from the other manuscript, and little more is required than to see that they are printed correctly. How the two first should be dealt with, it was not so easy to decide. The fire has eaten away two or three words from the end of every line on all the right-hand pages, and three or four whole lines from the bottom of every page, both right and left. For the losses at the bottom it was clear that nothing could be done but to mark the place and the extent. To supply by conjecture so much as the probable import of sixty or seventy consecutive words, with no direction except

to make them fit with the context before and after, is a problem which it would be idleness to attempt. Until another copy shall be discovered, those losses must be regarded as simply irretrievable. But where only two or three words are missing at the end of each line, the case is very different. The words which will fit into such a space and make both sense and grammar are so limited in number, that their general import may almost always be determined with accuracy; and in most cases a fair guess may be made at the words themselves. But all depends upon knowing how much room they filled. An attempt to make provision either for too many or too few misleads the guesser and spoils the guess. In order, therefore, that the reader may have the requisite *data* for exercising his own judgment on the question, it was necessary as far as possible to preserve in the printed page the due proportion between the part which remains and the part which has been lost in each line. Now this is often difficult, and sometimes impracticable, owing to the impossibility of imitating in type the various irregularities of handwriting. But the way I have attempted it is this: Taking the length of a full line in the manuscript, and dividing it into small parts, and then dividing the length of the printed line into an equal number of parts, I had a scale by which I could measure any length of either upon the other; and using a bracket to mark the place where the break in the manuscript begins, I had it placed at a point in each printed line corresponding, as nearly as

possible, to the point in the written line which the fire had reached. In this way the space within which conjecture may range has been defined in the printed page with as much accuracy perhaps as would be useful. *Absolute* accuracy it would hardly have been worth while to attempt; for even with the original paper before us the absolute number of lost letters cannot be fixed; allowance having possibly to be made either for blank spaces left at the end of lines where the next word was too long to go in, or for words written and crossed out, or for words inserted between the lines. But I think I may say that the cases are either none or very few in which any words that will fill up the portion of the printed line beyond the bracket *might* not have been written in the portion of the line which is burned off, and in the natural handwriting of the same transcriber.

The next question was whether the portions of the lines beyond the brackets should be left blank, to be supplied according to the taste of each reader, or whether an attempt should be made to assist him by supplying them conjecturally, and at least showing one way in which it may be done. The result of my own study of the mutilated manuscript has convinced me that it is best to make the attempt. The loss of two or three words at the end of every line makes it impossible to follow the sense as you read; and the necessity of stopping to make it out destroys the effect of the composition upon the imagination. Nay, even after you have made it out and filled up the blanks to

your own satisfaction, a second reading, unless the words are set down in their places, will prove but an uneasy progress; and I fancy that even of diligent readers few will take pleasure in it. I have therefore filled up these blanks as well as I could; the bracket always showing where my inventions begin, and the conditions as to space which they were bound to satisfy; and if I have not hit upon the right words, I have at least made all the pages readable, except for the three or four lines at the bottom,—the loss of which, though much to be regretted, is not enough (being only three or four in every forty) to neutralize the value of the rest.

Of what remains of the manuscript I have endeavoured to give an exact copy in all respects but one; and that is the punctuation; an exact representation of which would have made the printed page difficult to read, and served no useful purpose. The transcriber was probably accustomed to copy legal documents, in which points had no value, and sentences were not divided. For though it cannot be said that there is no punctuation at all, it is introduced so irregularly that it serves rather to confuse than to explain the construction. The end of a sentence is often not marked by a full stop. The beginning of the next is rarely distinguished by a capital letter. Commas, colons, and notes of interrogation are inserted occasionally, but upon no system; and if all the points had been omitted altogether, the construction would, I think, upon the whole have been clearer.

For though the composition was not meant to be independent of punctuation, there is in fact no single place in which the intended construction is really doubtful. Prefuming therefore that the punctuation of the manuscript means nothing, I have taken the liberty of substituting my own, and also of putting capital letters at the beginnings of sentences. In every thing else the manuscript has been exactly followed. No alteration in the spelling has been consciously allowed; and all the contractions have been carefully preserved. I have not, indeed, cared to imitate the particular *form* of contraction used in each case by the transcriber, but wherever a contraction occurs I have used some form of letter which will sufficiently indicate the contraction intended. This I held to be important, as bearing upon the filling up of the blank spaces; for both the spelling and the contractions make a considerable difference in the space which a word will occupy. Only in the passages which are supplied from Stephens's manuscript (the orthography of which varies considerably from this in those parts which can be compared, and would be quite as likely to mislead the conjecturer as to guide him), I have not cared to reproduce the exact forms, nor refrained from obvious corrections of the text.

The Northumberland House manuscript is, for the most part, remarkably clear and correct; it is very seldom that there can be any doubt what letter is intended, and the mistakes are very few. Still mistakes do occur. Here and there a word is omitted:

once or twice a word or phrase is repeated: once or twice a word has evidently been misread. Nevertheless, I have tried to represent the manuscript in its original state, errors and all; reserving all corrections, as well as all explanations and illustrations, to the notes at the end. Where an interlinear insertion of an omitted word has been apparently made by the transcriber himself, I have preserved it; admitting the word into its place in the line, if there was room; inserting it between the lines, if there was not. But interlinear insertions or corrections by another hand, of which there are a few, I have neglected in the text, and reserved for description in the notes. These are all conjectural emendations, sometimes certainly wrong, sometimes meant apparently for corrections, not of the text, but of the opinion expressed in it, and are clearly no part of the original writing, nor made by the writer's authority.

One of my chief difficulties has arisen from the irregularity of the hand-writing in point of closeness; which, though always very clear, and apparently very uniform, contrives sometimes to get more words into the line than can be printed without overcrowding, and sometimes to fill the line up with fewer than can be spread over the printed line without scattering. To meet this difficulty with the least disfigurement of the page, and yet observe the rule of printing line for line, the margin has in some pages been a little contracted or a little enlarged, as the case required.

It will naturally be asked what else the manuscript contains. It is a folio volume of twenty-two sheets, which have been laid one upon the other, folded double (as in an ordinary quire of paper), and fastened by a stitch through the centre.¹ But as the pages are not numbered, and the fastening is gone, it may once have contained more, and, if we may judge by what is still legible on the much bescribbled outside leaf which once served for a table of contents, there is some reason to suspect that it did. This leaf has one feature which has been thought singular enough to make it worth giving in *fac-simile*, and which I will speak of presently. But I will first deal with the question concerning the contents of the volume which it covered; and I begin with an account of what it contains now.

1. First comes the piece which is here printed, and of which, therefore, I need say no more.

2. A short essay, entitled *Of Magnanimitie or heroicall Vertue*. This is evidently a composition of Bacon's; but the substance is to be found in a better form in the *Advancement of Learning*.

3. *An advertisement touching private cens[ure]*. This is an enquiry concerning the limits and bounds of what we should now call "toleration" in religious

¹ One leaf, however,—that which would have been the tenth,—is missing: and one, which is the fourth, appears to have been glued or pasted in.

disputes; a rudiment, apparently, of the piece which follows.

4. *An advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England.* This is Bacon's well-known tract, first printed in 1640, and to be found in all editions of his collected works.

5. *A letter to a French gent: touching y^e proceedings in Engl: in ecclesiasticall causes, translated out of French into English by W. W.* This is an unfinished paper; but it is a copy, so far as it goes, of the same letter which was first printed in the *Scrinia sacra* (Ed. 1654), with the heading, "Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary, to Monsieur Critoy, secretary of France:" a letter which I have always believed to have been written by Bacon. See *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. i. pp. 95—102. This copy ends abruptly towards the bottom of the second page, the other side of which is left blank.

It is to be observed that this is the middle sheet of the volume, and if it ever contained more, this is the place where they must have come in.

6. *The Hermitt's fyrst speech.*

7. *The Hermitt's second speech.*

8. *The soldier's speech.*

9. *The secretarie's speech.*

10. *The Squire's speech.*

These are the speeches written by Bacon for a "Device" presented by the Earl of Essex on the Queen's day, 1595; concerning which see *Letters*

and Life of Francis Bacon, vol. i. pp. 374—386. The principal difference between this copy and that at Lambeth, from which the printed copy was taken, is that this does *not* contain “The Squire’s speech in the tilt-yard,” with which the other begins, and *does* contain a short speech from the Hermit—“the Hermit’s fyrst speech”—which seems to be a reply to it. It is possible that the beginning has been lost, as any number of sheets may have dropped out at this place, without leaving any evidence of the fact. The other differences are not material, though here and there a better reading is suggested.

11. *For the Earle of Suffex at ye tilt an: 96.*

This is a speech made to be spoken at one of these Court triumphs, and is written in the artificial style which it was the fashion to affect in them; which makes it the more difficult to supply the lost words; but it is addressed to the Queen and meant apparently to convey an apology for the absence of the Earl of Essex, who was very likely keeping aloof in one of his fits of discontent.

12. A letter without any heading or signature, but a very good copy (much better than that printed in the Cabala, which is full of blunders) of the letter to Elizabeth, dissuading her from marrying the Duke of Anjou, and commonly attributed to Sir Philip Sidney.

13. A copy, imperfect both at the beginning and the end, of the well-known tract called *Leicester’s*

Commonwealth. It begins with the words "A third reason of this manner of this Lady's death may be," &c.; and ends in the middle of the paragraph relating to the daughters of John of Gaunt.

This brings us to the end of the volume; the last leaf being part of the outside sheet, which appears to have been the only cover the volume ever had, and of which the other half forms the title-page, here given in *facsimile*. This leaf has suffered from fire like the rest. But before that, it had had the ill luck to be so used by some idle penman, either for trial of his pens, or for experiments in handwriting, or for mere relief from idleness, that it is difficult to make out what its proper contents were. At the top, however,—distinguished from the rest by ink of the same colour with the earlier portions of the MS.,—may be clearly read the words which I have chosen for a title-page, viz. :

Mr. Frauncis Bacon

of tribute or giuing what is dew.

The praise of the worthiest vertue.

The praise of the worthiest affection.

The praise of the worthiest power.

The praise of the worthiest person.

And if a line be drawn down the page, ranging with these, and the interstitial scribblings be overlooked, we may still trace the following additional titles, written in order, below :

Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.
Speeches for my lord of Essex at the tilt.
A speech for my lord of Suffex tilt.
Leycester's commonwealth. Incerto auth[ore].
Orations at Graie's Inne revells.
. Queene's Ma^{ty}
By Mr. Frauncis Bacon.
Essaies by the same author.

Richard the second.
Richard the third.
Asmund and Cornelia.
Isle of dogs fr (?),¹
by Thomas Nashe, inferior places.²

What follows is all scribbling; but at the *head* of this latter list two other titles seem to have been inserted afterwards, and are imperfectly legible, viz. :

. . . Phillip against Mounseieur.
Pa revealed.

This then I take to be all that the page originally contained, and to represent its proper business; the rest being idleness. The principal difficulties which I find in it are, 1st, the absence from the list of all allusion to the *Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England*, which can never

¹ This is not a mutilated word, but I cannot make out the remaining letters. They look like *mn'* or *um'*.

² Mr. Aldis Wright suggests *and inferior plaiers*.

have been separated from the volume, and has all the appearance of having been transcribed about the same time, and is too large a piece to have been overlooked; 2ndly, the absence from the volume itself of all trace of the *Earl of Arundel's letter to the Queen*, which appears in the list; and, 3rdly, the misplacing of the entry of Sir Philip Sidney's *Letter against Monsieur*, which stands higher in the list than it should. All this however may be explained by a few suppositions, not in themselves improbable; namely, that the transcriber of the first five pieces left his list of contents incomplete; that the transcriber who followed him set down the contents only of his own portion; that the first sheet or two of his transcript has been lost; and that Sidney's letter had been at first overlooked. I have already observed that the sheet on which the fifth piece ends and what is now the sixth begins, is the middle sheet of the volume; and therefore if anything came between these two, it may have been taken out without leaving any traces of itself. I have noticed also that Sir Philip's letter has no heading, and may therefore have been easily overlooked. Now if we may suppose that the Earl of Arundel's letter, having been transcribed on a central sheet, has dropped out, and that Sir Philip's having been overlooked, the title was entered afterwards in the place where there was most room, we shall find that the first four titles represent correctly the rest of the contents of the volume. The *Speeches*

for my lord of Essex at the tilt are evidently the speeches of the hermit, the soldier, the secretary, and the squire. The *speech for my lord of Suffex at the tilt* is the piece which stands next to them. And *Leycester's Commonwealth* fills up the remainder of the volume.

The titles which follow have nothing corresponding to them in this manuscript, but probably indicate the contents of another of the same kind, once attached to this, and now lost. If such a one should ever turn up, which is far from impossible, it will probably be found to contain

1st. The conclusion of *Leycester's commonwealth*.

2ndly. The speeches of the six councillors to the Prince of Purpoole at the Gray's Inn revels in 1594, (see *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. i. p. 332,) of which *Orations at Graie's Inne revells* would be a correct description, and an independent manuscript would be valuable; for the printed copy in *Gesta Grayorum* is full of errors.

3rdly. Something of Bacon's about the Queen, or addressed to her, the particulars of which I cannot make out.

4thly. A copy of *Bacon's Essays* in their earliest form; that is, as printed in 1597.

5thly. Copies of Shakespeare's plays of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.*

6thly. A piece called *Asmund and Cornelia*, of which I cannot hear that anything is known.

7thly. A play called the *Ile of Dogs*, of which the induction and the first act were written by Thomas Nashe, and the rest by the players; but of which no copy has been found.

That "Richard the second" and "Richard the third" are meant for the titles of *Shakespeare's* plays so named, I infer from the fact—of which the evidence may be seen in the *facsimile*—that, the list of contents being now complete, the writer (or more probably another into whose possession the volume passed) has amused himself with writing down promiscuously the names and phrases that most ran in his head; and that among these the name of *William Shakespeare* was the most prominent, being written eight or nine times over for no other reason that can be discerned.¹ That the name of *Mr. Frauncis Bacon*, which is also repeated several times, should have been used for the same kind of recreation requires no explanation; its position at the top of the page would naturally suggest it. In the upper corner, on the left hand, may be seen (as Mr. Aldis Wright has pointed out to me) the words *ne vile velis*, the motto of the Nevilles, twice repeated; and I think I see traces of the name Nevell. Other exercises of the same kind are merely repetitions of the titles which stand

¹ The first place in which the name occurs is in the space between *Essaies by the same author* and *Richard the second*. But it does not seem to have been written at the same time with the titles, or by the same hand.

opposite, or ordinary words of compliment, familiar in the beginnings and endings of letters; with here and there a scrap of verse, such as

Revealing day through every cranie peepes,

or,

Multis annis jam tranfactis
Nulla fides est in pactis,
Mell in ore, verba lactis;
Fell in corde, fraus in factis.

And most of the rest appear to be merely exercises in writing *th* or *sh*. The facsimile represents the original very exactly in everything except the stains on the paper, and the curious reader can study for himself the history of the scribble. But the only thing, so far as I can see, which requires any particular notice, is the occurrence in this way of the name of *William Shakespeare*; and the value of that depends in a great degree upon the date of the writing; which I fear cannot be determined with any approach to exactness. All I can say is that I find nothing either in these later scribblings, or in what remains of the book itself, to indicate a date later than the reign of Elizabeth; and if so, it is probably one of the earliest evidences of the growth of Shakespeare's *personal* fame as a dramatic author; the beginning of which cannot be dated much earlier than 1598. It was not till 1597 that any of his plays appeared in print; and though the earliest editions of Richard II., Richard III., and Romeo and Juliet

all bear that date, his name is not on the title-page of any of them. They were set forth as plays which had been "lately," or "publicly," or "often with great applause," acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. Their title to favour was their popularity as acting plays at the Globe; and it was not till they came to be read as books that it occurred to people unconnected with the theatre to ask who wrote them. It seems, however, that curiosity was speedily and effectually excited by the publication; for in the very next year a second edition of both the Richards appeared with the name of William Shakespeare on the title-page; and the practice was almost invariably followed by all publishers on like occasions afterwards. We may conclude, therefore, that it was about 1597 that play-goers and readers of plays began to talk about him, and that his name would naturally present itself to an idle penman in want of something to use his pen upon. What other inferences will be drawn from its appearance on the cover of this manuscript by those who start with the conviction that Bacon and not Shakespeare was the real author of Richard II. and Richard III., I cannot say; but to myself the fact which I have mentioned seems quite sufficient to account for the phenomenon. At the present time, if the waste leaf on which a law-stationer's apprentice tries his pens were examined, I should expect to find on it the name of the poet, novelist, dramatic author, or actor of the day, mixed with snatches of

the last new song, and scribblings of "My dear Sir," "Yours sincerely," and "This Indenture witnesseth." And this is exactly the sort of thing which we have here. I think I am in a condition to assert that there is no trace of Bacon's own penmanship in any part of the volume; and the name of Shakespeare is spelt in every case as it was always *printed* in those days, and not as he himself in any known case ever wrote it.

Of the history of the manuscript all that is known was communicated to me by Mr. John Bruce, last August, and I give it in his own words.

"Up to about two years ago, there had remained at Northumberland House, for a long time, two black boxes of considerable size, presumed to contain papers, but nobody knew of the boxes having ever been opened, or could give any information respecting their history, or tell what kind of papers they contained. These boxes were opened at the time I have indicated, and the contents, which turned out to be papers, as had been supposed, were taken out that I might inspect them. I did so in the month of August, 1867. I found them to be of a very miscellaneous character, many of them more or less connected with the history of the Percys, and others of a more general historical interest.

"Upon some of them were found notes in reference to their contents, written by the hand of Bishop

Percy, the editor of the *Reliques*, who was domestic chaplain at Northumberland House from about 1765 to 1782. He occupied apartments in the House, and gave considerable attention to the old papers belonging to the family. It is probable that he looked through all the papers now under consideration, and that it was under his direction that they were placed in the boxes alluded to.

“ Among the papers taken out of these boxes I found the transcripts of the papers of Bacon. They formed part of a miscellaneous collection, or unbound volume, of transcripts, containing among other things a copy of Leicester’s Commonwealth and other pamphlets and documents relating to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Looking hastily at the Bacon transcripts, I saw at once some matter which I recollected as already in print. Other parts of them seemed new to me. I mentioned this circumstance at the time to some members of the family of the Duke of Northumberland, who took an interest in what I was about. I pointed it out as a subject for further inquiry, and at the same time directed attention to the oddity of the recurrence and combination of the names of Bacon and Shakespeare in the scribble on the fly-leaf of the MS.

“ A good many of the papers taken out of the boxes had been subjected to the action of fire. Their edges were found burnt and singed in the same way as the Bacon transcripts. Among the papers thus damaged

was a collection of transcripts of accounts of public ceremonials, such as royal marriages, funerals, and coronations. With this collection was found a paper on which was written, in a hand of the last century, perhaps that of Bishop Percy, although larger than his ordinary hand, a memorandum that those papers relating to ceremonials had been purchased at 'Anstis's sale,' which I understood to allude to the sale of the MSS. of the two Garters Anstis, the father and son, which took place in 1768.

"This memorandum seemed to point to the possibility that the Bacon transcripts might have come to Northumberland House in the same manner as those relating to ceremonials. I thought it right therefore to endeavour to inspect a copy of the Anstis sale catalogue. For a considerable time I was unsuccessful. There is no copy at the British Museum, nor at the Society of Antiquaries, nor in several other likely places. Ultimately one was found at the College of Arms. Unfortunately, like most of the sale catalogues of that period, the lots are described in terms so general and unprecise that it is quite impossible to say what may not have been included under words so vague. Certainly the Bacon MS. is not directly mentioned. In a miscellaneous collection of papers, thrown together into one lot, there is mention of a copy of his argument, *De rege inconsulto*; and in the course of the catalogue there are several copies of Leicester's Commonwealth, but

they do not occur in lots which can be identified with the MS. you are dealing with, but rather the contrary.

“What I have stated seems to lead to the conclusion that the papers were deposited in boxes after 1768. That inference is strengthened by the circumstance that the Anstis MS. is so much injured by fire that—its contents not being highly valuable—it is unlikely that it would have been bought for the Ducal library in its burnt condition. The same conclusion is rendered more probable by the circumstance that there occurred a fire in Northumberland House on the 18th of March 1780, which destroyed a very considerable part of the front towards Charing Cross,¹ including the apartments occupied by Dr. Percy, then Dean of Carlisle. The *Gent. Mag.* of the day takes pains to inform its readers that ‘the greatest part of the Dean’s invaluable library was fortunately preserved.’ It says nothing of any MSS. of the Duke’s, but I think we may safely infer that in all probability this was the fire in which the Anstis MSS., the Bacon transcript, and several other manuscripts were injured; and if so, that they were not put into the black boxes until after March 1780.

“We may also I think find another limit. Dr. Percy was in 1782 appointed Bishop of Dromore,

¹ Annual Register for 1780, p. 202. *Gent. Mag.* for March, 1780, p. 151.

‘where he continually resided’ (Nichols’s *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 754) from his appointment to his death in 1811. The putting these papers into the boxes, which clearly took place after the fire in 1780, looks very like the act of Dr. Percy when taking leave of Northumberland House and about to remove to Dromore.

“From 1782 to 1867 the history of these papers is pretty clear; I will only add that nothing has been done with them since they were found, except that the burnt and singed edges have been carefully repaired by a trustworthy person accustomed to that kind of work, and very skilful in it.”¹

With regard to the portion of this manuscript now printed, I may observe that though the first ten pages contain all that is absolutely new, its full value would not have been realised without an exhibition of the whole together, for those parts which have hitherto been read separately as substantive compositions will be found to acquire something of a new character from the context. If “To be or not to be,” or “All the world’s a stage,” had been found among Shakespeare’s papers and published as lines of his own, anybody can understand what a different effect they would have had, and how unexpected an aspect of Shakespeare’s mind they would have seemed to reveal. In a less degree, but in the same way, an oration in praise

¹ From a letter to me, dated 14th August 1869.

of knowledge or of the Queen, is one thing if spoken in a man's own person, another if only invented by him as part of a dramatic entertainment. And though I do not know that either of these contain anything which Bacon would not have been himself prepared to stand by and maintain in earnest, yet in a case where the business is amusement and the occasion a compliment, the liberties of rhetoric cannot be denied to what is in fact a rhetorical exhibition. Now among the exercises prescribed for the rhetorician, is one of which all these orations afford some example. In treating of the *Desiderata* in that art (*De Aug. Scient.* lib. vi.), Bacon approves of Cicero's recommendation that the forensic orator should provide himself with commonplaces, in which all questions of ordinary occurrence should be argued and handled on either side; but desires to extend it to other departments of oratory. "I would have all topics," he says, "which there is frequent occasion to handle (whether they relate to proofs and refutations, or to persuasions and dissuasions, or to praise and blame) studied and prepared beforehand; and not only so, but the case exaggerated both ways with the utmost force of the wit, and urged unfairly, as it were, and quite beyond the truth" (*eosque ultimis ingenii viribus, et tanquam improbe, et prorsus præter veritatem, attolli et deprimi*). It was as an essay towards the supply of this deficiency that he drew up his *Antitheta Rerum*; in which the

arguments both for and against, on a variety of topics, are packed into short and sharp sentences, "to be as skeins or bottoms of thread, to be unwinded at large when they come to be used." But they are for the use of the advocate, not of the judge: and these rival orations of A, B, C, and D are in like manner to be regarded as ingenious pleadings—exercises in the art of making the best or the worst of a thing—not necessarily expressions of Bacon's personal opinion or ultimate judgment, such as we have it in the "Essays," the "Observations on a Libel," the discourse on the "Felicities of Elizabeth," and other places where he speaks in his own person.



The manuscript is a single page of text, likely a letter or a record, written in a cursive script. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that is heavily stained and discolored, with a large, irregular tear on the right side. The text is written in a cursive script, and the ink is dark. The text is written in a cursive script, and the ink is dark. The text is written in a cursive script, and the ink is dark.

Emus
Imit. & firma
Imitatio & fignis

Impressus

Impressus
colored in the

But not so in the

But not so in the

But not so in the

Autogeno & fignis

A
fignis

MR. FRAUNCIS BACON
OF TRIBUTE, OR GIVING WHAT
IS DEW.

The praise of the worthiest vertue.

The praise of the worthiest affection.

The praise of the worthiest power.

The praise of the worthiest person.

*Mr. ffr : Bacon of tribute
or giuing that w^{ch} is due.*

1. *the praise of the worthiest vertue.*
2. *the praise of the worthiest affec̃on.*
3. *the praise of the worthiest power.*
4. *the praise of the worthiest person.*

A	C
1	3
B	D
2	4

A. Since we are mett lett me gouerne our leysure. B. C. D: Com̃a[unde. A. Let euerie man do honor to that w^{ch} he esteemeth most and c[an most worthilie praise. B. O vaine motion and ignorance of times! Are not sa[tires of more price then himnes? A. Obey.

The praise of ffortitude.

My praise shalbe dedicated to the noblest of the vertues. Pr[udence to discerne betweene good and euill. Justice to stande indifferent [betweene selfe-loue and societie. Temperance to deuide aright betweene [desire & reason. Theise be good innocent thinge. Butt the vertue of a[s̃tion, the vertue of resoluç̃on, the vertue of effect̃, is ffortitude. Pres[ent unto a man largelic endued wth prudence the tempest of a so[ddaine and greate daunger, and lett ffortitude absent her selfe; wh[at use hath he of his wisdome? hath he the power eyther to beholde the [daunger or to entende the remedye? or rather doth not the first im[pres̃ion disable him to take a true viewe of the pill, and the appreh[ension of the pill so attache and seaze his senses that he cannott in[uent meanes for his deliuerance? Where be the goodlie groundes of rea[s̃on, the obseruaç̃ons of experience, rules, preceptes, and cautions, [uppon which he was wont at leysure to consider, compare, and conclud[e? His ordered and

thoughts digested ^{are} are confounded: their printes are defaced. A [soddaine cry and alarme of perill hath, as *Berecinthia's* horne, drowne[d all their sweete musicke, or else a blast of winde disordered *Sibilla's* le[auces. His very wisdome is the first thing that flies. His spiritt^e tha[t fate together in councill in his braine are gone to succor his h[cart: and therewith he is] lefte abandoned to his perills by the treason of [his judgement.

his wisdome could haue tould him h
in the face while he confid

good entertaynment[℥] to perswade men of the strength of their [under-
 standings], but deceiptfull in the execu^ōn and triall. What price then
 or regard can wisdom^e carrie, w^{ch} tyreth a mans thought[℥]
 wth forecasting and providing for perills w^{ch} neuer come
 as if it could imbrace all accident[℥], but when daunger
 commeth unexpected it leaueth a man in pray to his adventurs?
 But now lett Prudence, this weake ladie, rauished by euerie
 inuasion and assault of suddaine daunger, obtaine for her
 champion and knight fortitude, and then see how she en-
 tertayneth the challenges of fortune. Doth a man flie
 before he knoweth? or suffer before he feelth? No: but
 straightwaies the discouerie of the perrill maketh a man more
 then himself. It awaketh his senses. It quickeneth his mo^{ti}ōs.
 It redoubleth his forces. He looketh thorough & thorough yⁱ pill.
 He taketh hold of euerie light of remedie. He discerneth w^t must
 be concluded, w^t may be differēd. He ceaseth not to device for y^e
 rest while he executeth that w^{ch} is instant, nor to execute y^e
 present while he deuise^th for yⁱ to come. But he is allwaies
 in his owne power, reioycing in the prooffe of himself and well-
 coming necessitie. Thus is ffortitude the marshall of thought[℥],
 the armor of the will, & the fort of reason. Lett us turne o^r
 considera^ōn & behold Justice, the sacred vertue, y^e vertue of
 refuge, the vertue of Societic. Doth not she also shrowde her-
 self under the p^{te}cc^ōn of ffortitude? Lett a man be abstinent
 from wrong, exact in ductie, gratefull in obliga^ōn, & yet
 dismantled & open to feare or dolor, what will ensue? Will
 not the menace of a tirant make him condemne y^e innoce^{nt}?
 will not the sence of torture make him appeale his dearest
 frends and that untrulie? But paine hath taught him [a new
 philosophic. He be^gineth to be perswaded y^t it is Justice [to pay
 tribute to nature, to yelde to the rigor of paine, to be [merciful
 to himselfe. He would giue others leaue to doe the like by [him: he
 would forgiue them if they did. So that now his ba^llance, where-
 wth he was wont to weigh out euerie man h[is own, is fallen
 out of his handes. He is at y^e deuoc^ōn of the mig^{ht}iest. His wisdom
 remayneth wth him but as a furie to upbr[aid his weakenesse and in-
 crea]se his torment. As for Temper[ance
 m]agnanimitie and what shal

you cannot submitt yo^r selfe to the condicions of obtay[n]ing thereof, and
 therfor fall to despise. Will you affect to be admirab[le]? Will you
 neither followe others nor spare your selfe? Will you [make yo^r life
 nothing but an occasion and censure of others? Oh but [I mean no such
 matter: no vain glorie: no malignitie: no diffidence: [no censure.
 I desire but a release from perturbations. I seeke b[ut] an euen
 tenor of minde. I will not use because I will not desir[e]. I will not
 desire because I will not feare to want. Loe we see a[ll] these circum-
 stances, all this p[ar]a[do]x, is but to keepe afarr of f[ea]re and griefe,
 w^{ch} fortitude reioyceth to challenge & to chase: bu[t] when once a
 feare & greife commeth, such as all men are subiect [unto, if it be
 a feare & greife w^{ch} ariseth not of y^e destitucōn of a pl[e]asure but y^e
 acceffe of a disfortune, then what use hath he of his temp[er]ance? Will
 he not then esteeme it a great follie y^t he hath p[ro]vided a[gain]st heat
 of sunshine & not of fyre? doth he not take it for a mad[n]ess to think
 if a man could make himself impa[ss]ible of pleasure, he sh[ould] make him-
 self at one labor impa[ss]ible of paine? wheras contrariwise it is an
 introducōn to beare stronger greifes, to desire often wth [outhauing. But
 lett fortitude and strength of minde assist Temperance[, and see what
 followeth then? a man is able to use pleasures & to spa[re] them; to
 containe himselfe in the entry or greatest downfall an[d] to enter-
 taine himselfe euer in pleasure; hauing in prosperitie se[n]ce of joy,
 & in aduersitie sence of strength. Therefor it is fortitude [that must help
 or consummate or enable all vertues. Of Pleasure now lett us
 inquire, w^{ch} being limitted and goũed, no se[er]itie of conceipt [nor harshnes
 of language shall make, but it is the blessing of nat[ure], the true
 marriage of the senses, the feast and holliday of this o^r [work-day and
 unquiett life, onelic lett men discern the p[re]sent sign[al] and want of
 nature from the bayte of affectōn, lett them discern [that which is
 pleasant in the so[m]e & totall from that w^{ch} is pleasant [at y^e moment.
 N]ow what true and solide pleasure can there b[e] where feare is?
 Mark] I pray you w^t sporte feare maketh wth y^e t

f his pleasures & desires. hope he

and fruition of his pleasure, then he is in a maze: he is as deare y^t come unto an unwonted good pasture, and stand at a gaze, & scantlye feede; so he euer imagineth some ill is hid in euerie good: so as his pleasures be as solid as the sandes, being corrupted wth continuall feares and doubtcs; and when the pleasure is past then he thinketh it a dreame, a surfeit of desire, a false ioye: he is ungratefull to nature: for still the fence of greife printeth so deepe and the fence of delight [so] lightlie, as the one seemeth unto him a truth, the other a deceit. Judge then how natie and perfect pleasures are to him to whom expectacōn is a racke, enioyng is an amazement, remembrance is a distast & bitternes. Againe w^t doth somuch encrease and enrich all pleasures as noveltie? but it is a rule that to a fearfull man whatsoeuer is new is suspect: so as that w^{ch} [should] season and enrich pleasures, doth taint and embase them. But now lett us take breath awhile, and looke about if we can see any thing else good in nature. Vertue the perfecōn of nature, pleasure the fruit of nature, is there any thing else? o beautie the ornament of nature. I cannot say that ffortitude will make a crooked man straight, nor a fowle person faire. But this I may say, y^t feare is the mother of deformitie, and y^t I neuer saw a man comelie in feare. So it is ffortitude that giueth a grace, a maiestie, a beautie to all acōns. But whie doe we staie so long upon the merritt^e of ffortitude in shewing how it is a protector and benefactor to all y^t is good, and do not hasten to y^e conquests & victories thereof? Have we not donne well, because its more meritorious to succor then to subdue, and more excellent [to compound ciuill diffensions then to defeate forraigne enemies]? And therfor now we haue shewed how ffortitude maketh y^e minde b[ring] y^e workes and acōns of vertue to the tast and fruition of pleasur^e, it is time to sett forth what it can doe against those extreame thing[s] called euills. theise euills, lett them be mustered. Are they paine of bodie? g[riefe] of minde? flauder of name? fearfitie of meanes? solitude of frendes? feare of death? Whie none of theise are ill wth ffortitude, w^{ch} can bea[re] pain of bodie wthout violating the repose of our mindes in themselves or om[itting] our care for others. It conditeth them: it taketh away their venemous qualitie: it reconcileth them to nature. lett no man quarr[ell] with the decree of prouidence w^{ch} hath included in euerie ill [st]up[er]facōn of y^e part^e and the weak apprehension and

but it is feare and impatience that are the sergeant^e of fortune and do arrest and subdue us to those things, being otherwise freemen: so as [that w^h doth drawe from men lamenta^ons, outcries, excess of greife, it is [not y^e outward enemy, but the inward traitor. Nothing is to be feared but feare [itself. Nothing greivous but to yelde to greife. For lett us remember how m^{an} endued wth this vertue fortitude haue entertayned death, the mightiest of [all enemies. Consider whether it wrought any altera^on in them; whether it h^{ath} troubled and putt out of frame their ordinarie fashions and behauiours. [I do wonder at the Stoickes, that accompted themselves to hold the masculin^e vertues, esteeming others se^{ct}s delicate tender and effeminate, w^t they [sh^d soe urge and advise men to the medita^on of death. Was not this to incre^{ase} y^e feare of death, w^{ch} they professed to assuage? Must it not be a terrible foe against whom there is no end of prepara^on? Ought they not to haue [taught men to die as if they had liued, and not to liue as though they continu^e sh^d die? More manfullie thought the voluptuous se^{ct} that counted it as [one of y^e ordinarie workes of nature. But to returne: letts leade about our [considera^on to take veiwe of those w^{ch} haue ben men of knowne valour and [courage, and see whether death presented hath so much as untuned their ordi^{nary} fashion of conceipte and custome. *Julius Cæsar*, the worthiest man th^{at} euer liued, the brauest souldier, a man of the greatest honor, and one that h^{ad} the most reall and effectuell eloquence that euer man had; not a founding [and flowing eloquence for a continueate speech, but an eloquence of ac^on, [an eloquence of affaires, an eloquence that had suppressed a great mutinye [with a single word (*Quirites*), an eloquence to imprint and worke upon any [man y^t w^{ch} he spake. See now whether he varied from himself at his death. The [first wounde that was giuen him on the necke by *Casca*, that stode behind his [chaire, he turned about and caught hold of his arme: *traitor Casca what dost thou?* the wordes were but plaine, but yett w^t could upon studie haue been said more apt to daunte the conspirator and to incite succors? Should [he implore helpe? he would rather haue lost a thousand liues. Should he h^{au}e cried out? that had ben also an imploring of aide. Should he haue said *wh[in the temple of the gods?* it was not decent for Cæsar to claime for himself y^t his person was more venerable then the place. Therfor he [chose a word y^t was as effectuell to invite succors but yett retainde y^e mai^{estie} of Cæsar. He added *Casca*. He was nothing astonished: he singled him out [at once. Who knoweth not, that is any thing skillfull in the weight and [effect of words, that] compellation by name giueth as it were a po^{int} and penetrate and what

felfe thou and thy complices. Well, they came about him being unarmed, and as
 a ſtagg at bay yett he neuer ceaſed to putt himſelf in defence ympoining of their
 weapons and all the meanes of an unarmed man. A forme excellentlie well
 becomming a militarie man, thoughe he knew it would not helpe. At laſt
 when Marcus Brutus gaue him a wounde, (*and thou my ſonne*). Noble
 Cæſar, he had no weapon to wounde Brutus againe, but this word wounded,
 this word perced him, this word enchanted him, this worde made him euer
 diſpaire of a finall good ſucceſſe of the warr, although the cauſe were iuſt and his
 proceeding at the firſt prosperous. This word inſpired him once at his birth day,
 when his affaires ſtoode in moſt prosperous termes, to breake out cauſeles into
 this verſe : *at me ſors miſera et Latonæ perdidit infans*. This word turned it
 ſelf afterwarde into the likenes of an ill ſpiritt that appeared unto him in
 his tent. In the ende when his ſtrength failed him, yett he tooke an honorable
 regard to fall in comelie manner, and couered after the manner of the
 apparell of that tyme. So as that complement, that point of honor, w^{ch} it had
 ben much for a ladie to have remembred, unto whom modeſtie and honor of pſon
 were *ſummū bonū*, ſo great a monarch, ſo great a captaine, in ſo ſtrong and
 violent an affault, forgott not at the point of death. *Auguſtus Cæſar*
 his nephew, a man nothing of that ſtrength and corrage, but of greate
 affurance and ſerenitie of mynd, he that by the caulūnes and repoſe of
 his countenance had appalled a barbarous conſpirator, he that would
 euer wiſhe himſelf *Euthanaſiam* ; in ſumme, a daintie and a fine man ; was
 he not the ſame man at his ende ? *Liuius* b^{are} in mind our marriadg, *liue*
and farewell, a farewell at length for a large abſence. *Veſpaſian*, a man
 exceedingly giuen to the humor of dieacitie and ieſting, his laſt words were,
 if I be not much deceyued I am upon the point to be made a god : ſeol[ſing
 at death, at himſelf, and at the times. *Seuerus* (*Septimius I me[ane]*)
 a man of infinite purſuite of accion and diſpatch (*if there be any[thing*
for me to doe) and further he could not goe. The like wordes he [would
 haue uſed if he had ben but going to ſleepe. Socrates, that w[ould neuer
 affirme any thing, in his laſt wordes to the iudges ſaid (*It [is now time to*
conclude, that I may be diſmiſſed to dye and you to liue. but [wh^r for the beſt
knowes Iupiter). He leſte not his Ironye, for himſelf had told his
 opinion to his frendes before. So the Romaine
 delygthed ſo much in the inquiſition of the truth
 by cōmaundment of Caius Cali[gula
 t to perſon and diſ

So that by all these examples it appeareth, how fortitude doth arme men's mynds in such sort that euery strictt habitt or fashon [is stronger than feare of death or sence of his approches. Neyther will I som [uch disparage the praise of this noble vertue fortitude, that I make it the [glorie and the principall coate of honor thereof to overcome the feare of death[: seeing that barbarous customes, false superstitions, violent passions, are able to do as much. But all these doe it as madnes sometimes doth it; th[ey expell one Tirant by another; but they leaue not the minde in entire [possession. y^e is the onelie worke of fortitude: other vertues deliuer us fr[om y^e rule of vices, but fortitude alone deliuereth us from the seruitude [of fortune.

A. Your speache were able to warme the harte of a coward: for eyther it [w^d put courage into him, or else yf nothing could prevaile wth him but feare, yett it [w^d make him more afraid of feare it selfe then of any perill. C. he deserueth to be [speach. A. Letts heare what you will deserue.

The praise of Loue.

My praise shalbe dedicated to the happiest state of the minde; to [the eleuacōn of mynde to the noblest affecōn. The vertues are m[oderators: they are lawes of the mynde; they restraine it, they limitt it, they [gouern it, they amplifie it not. They are as the mill when it is sett uppon a ry[ch stone: heere it grindeth out a raece & there a graine, to make it weare m[ore faire: but in the meane while the stone loofeth caragues, leaseth substan[ce. So wth y^e vertues; they pollyshe the mynde, they make it wthout blemishe, they [giue it excellent forme; but commonly they take of much of the naturall [vigour: They be the affeccions w^{ch} make the mynde heroicall, that giues [it power to exceede it selfe, and to fastinate and binde others. Doe we not [see that no agilitie of bodie, no sleight nor praetize, can bring a man to doe [that w^h sometimes feare or fury makes him doe? In the melting of an h[orse-shoe can a mightie dead fyre doe as much as a small fyre blowne? I[n shaping metalls, can a mightie huge weight doe as much as the blowe of [a hammer? It is motion therfor that animateth all thinge: it is vaine to think [that any strength of nature can counteruaile a violent moōn. The affe[cōns are the motions of the minde: the vertues pray in ayde of the affecō[n]. Fearing and wondering is the life of prudence. Modestie is the life of [temperance. Indignacōn the life of fortitude. All vertues take meaf
power and strength from the affecōns. Therfor
happines and height of mynde. but
ert the true steppes of

for as for the other affectiōns they be but sufferinges of nature: they seeke ransomes and rescues from that w^{ch} is evill, not enioyeng an union wth that w^{ch} is good: they seeke to expell that w^{ch} is contrarie, not to attract that w^{ch} is agreeable. Feare and greife, the traitors of nature; bashfullnes, a thralldom to euerie man's conceipt and countenance; pittie, a confederacie wth y^e miserable; desire of reuenge, the supplieng of a wounde; all theise they endeavor to keepe the maine stocke of nature, to preserue her from losse & diminuciōn; but loue is a pure gaine and advancem^t in nature; it is not a good by comparisōn, but a true good; it is not an ease of payne, but a true purchase of pleasures; and therfor when our mindes are foundest, when they are not as it were in sicknes and therfor out of tast, but when we be in prosperitie, when we want no thing, then is the season the opportunitie and the spring of loue: and as it springeth not out of ill, so is it not entermixt wth ill: it is not like the vertues w^{ch} by a steepe and cragged way conduēt us to a plaine, and are hard taske-m^{ts} at first, and after giue an honorable hyre; but the first aspect of loue and all that followeth is gracious and pleasant. And now to you fir that somuch commende vertue ffortitude, and therein cheiflie commended it because it doth enfranchise us from the tyrannies of fortune, yett doth

indeede
it not in such perfecōn as doth loue. For ffortitude ^{indeede} strengtheneth y^e mynd, but it giueth it no feeling, it leaueth it emptye, it ministreth unto it no apt contemplaciōn to fix it self vpon that it may the more easilie be directed from the sence of dolours, and thats the reasons w^{ch} you would in no wise admitt to be competitors wth ffortitude in this honor (as barbarous customes and false superstitions do this notwithstanding more easilie and effectually then that vertue. Butt loue doth so fill and possesse all the powers of the minde as it sweetneth the harshnes of all deformities. Lett no man feare y^e yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of loue. W^t fortune can be such a Hercules as shalbe able to ouercome two? When two soules are ioyned in one, wh^{en} one hath another to deuide his ffortune wth all, no force can depresse him. Therfor since loue hath nother seate in ill as haue other affectiōns; since [it hath no part in ill as vertue hath the beginnyng; synce it admitteth n[o sence of ill and therin excelleth ffortitude; now lett us see whether it [be not as ryche in good as exempt in ill. Now therfor will I teache louers to [loue, y^t haue all this while loued by roate. I will giue them the Alphabet [of loue. I will shew them how it is spelled. For this is a principle y^e nature [of man is compound and full of multiplicitye. so as it is not somuch any simple pleasure that affecteth as the co

ffirme then and that trulie (that it

verie generallie in peregrinaçõs to straunge countries, [in doing unwonted accions, listening after newes, gaines of chaunce, wth the like particulers. This delight doth also winde it selfe like a [serpent into their affecons, in such sorte as few delights have grace lon[g, unless this commendeth them to the apprehençõn. Now therfor loue is [a fountain of curiositie, a most sweet grounde sett wth infinite changes, a [journey of strangest and most various adventurers. I demaund in loue w^h [are all these mutations by absences, theise redintegraçõs by unkindnesse, t[hese surprises by alteraçõn of attyre and change of presences, but as it w^here changes uppon this stopp? But aboue all others newe meritt and dem[and on affection is the gratefulest noueltie: and it is not onelie the va[riety of y^e knowledge that pleaseth, but the certaintie. For assuredlie no p[er]son ever saw at any time the minde of another but in loue. Loue is the one [ly passion y^e opens the harte. So as wee see w^h rich tribute curiositie and des[ire] of noueltie pay unto loue: being indeed, if not the hiest, yett the sweetest affecçõn of all others. Now turne we o^r veiwe uppon ambition; an affecçõn potent and generall. Dionisius, when he was chased from his tiran[ie, became a Pedantius: a child will lord it ouer his dog and bird: is not [ambition so mightie as it infecteth the sence? haue we not heard of *ambit[i]osæ cœnæ*,] when men desire not the meate of the best tast but y^e w^h is dearest to buy or hardly procured; not unlike the receipt *Aurum potabile*? Con[trariwise is not loue a gaole of ambition, a perfecçõn of commaundm^t, inclu[ding] not onelie the commandm^t of the person but of the will? Do we not see y^e in populer states ambition is most sweet, because honor is more vo[luntarie? Do we not obserue how the *Heresiarchæ* and beginners of sectes, m[aking] it their *summū bonū* to raigne in mens myndes, are therfor iustlie ca[lled] *supratores mentium*, the deflowers of understanding? So that as it is [y^e disease of such extrauagant and straung spiritt^l to seeke a co[m]maundem^t ouer reasons & beleefes, so it is naturall in man to aspire to co[m]maundem^t of minds and especiallie of affecçõs and willes. Another delight ministr[ed] unto the nature of man by this condiçõn is to haue such as may be com[panions] unto him. Many are the greifes and diseases wherto mens states are [subject; the verie representaçõn of them by foresight doth disrellish their present prosperities. But then when one forseeeth wth all that to his m[an]ie griefes cannot be added solitute, but that he shall haue a partner [to beare y^m, this quieteth the mind. A further inward and deepe affecçõn [proper to y^e mind of m]an, is the continewig and if it myght be the perpet[uation] of his stocke, being] the common and naturall desire of children

favorites and co

taking a hie and comfortable impreſſion of a mans ſelf from the admiracōn and enderred eſtimation of others. Was not flatterie euer in grace? but there is no flatterie like to that of a louer. One ſaid well that a man's ſelfe was the Archflatterer, but he ſhould haue excepted his louer: for the proudeſt man that euer was neuer thought ſo well of him as the louer thinketh of the perſon loved. Conſider againe the delighte of concurrence in deſire wthout emulation. If two be but ſett at one game they loue, or labor togeath^r in ſome one worke or invention, marke how well pleaſed, how well diſpoſed, how contented they be. So then if mindes are ſharpened againſt mindes, as Iron is againſt Iron, in euerie acōn, what ſhall we thinke of that union & coniuncōn of mindes w^{ch} loue worketh? W^t vigor, what alacritie, muſt it giue. Behold further the nature of the minde of man. It is euerie man's obſeruaōn y^t remiſſion and relaxacōn of minde is a moſt neceſſarie part of life. It is noted alſo that abſolute Idlenes and leysure when the mind is altogether wthout obiect is but languiſhing and wearines. How precious then is loue w^{ch} is the ſweeteſt repoſe from travailles and affaires, and the ſweeteſt imploy^mt in leysure & Idlenes. So as in one reſpect it is like the earth *Anteus*, in the other it is like *Penelopes* webb w^{ch} entertaineth time and putteth of expectacōn. For it is not an ill commendation to ſay y^t loue is an idle mans occupation: but it catcheth the buſieſt. Cana tirant be idle the firſt yeare of his uſurpacōn? See *Appius & Virginia*. Could the ſtate and enlaged enemie of Octavius Cæſar want w^t to thinke? See *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*. So it is not the fruite of idlenes but the remedie. Laſtly to leaue where loue beginneth, who diſcerneth not y^t y^e eye is the moſt affecting ſence? They be tales y^e ppoſicōns to the contrarie. The humor of melancholie importuneth thoſe y^t are oucome wth it wth the memorie of the moſt affecting diſlike. Conſerr wth one that is entering to be mellancholie; ſhall you heare him complayne of harſh ſoundes or odious fauors repreſented to his imagination repreſented to his imagination? Noe, but allwaies meditating of fearefull and diſliking formes. Who denieth but the eye is firſt contented in loue, being fed and feaſted by freſh p-
portionable ſhapes and decent moōns? Therfor if all delight of ſence aff^rect loue, if y^e understanding be tributarie to loue, if loue offereth the ſweeteſt conſentment to him that deſireth to know, the exacteſt commaundm^t to him that [deſireth to rule, the comfortableſt promiſe to him that looketh into his fortune, [the ſureſt hope to him that ſeeketh to ſuruiue himſelf, the moſt flattering glaſſe to [him that loueth to vei^w himſelf wth aduantage, the greateſt union of minde to him y^t [deſireth y^e moſt reſreſhing repoſe from acōn, the moſt acceptable entertayn^mt to him y^t w^d offer y^e moſt pleaſing obiect to the moſt imprinting ſence: Lett us m^kake our ſuit to loue, that gathereth the beames of ſo many pleaſures into flame the fowle, and letts conclude that the

A. *I was thinking what you did deserue; and hearing you speake so [wiselie of loue y^e is of y^e nature as a man cannot well tell who should knowe it [best, he y^e hath tryed it or he that hath not tryed it, I thought you deserued a pat[ent that hath ben graunted but seldome, and that is Amare et sapere. he had re[quited his ladies fauor. but heere sitteth one as if he neither gaue much [eare nor meant to speake. D. I was neuer niggard of myne eare but I would [gladlie spare my speache. A. The wrong were not to us but to y^e you hono[r, if now you shall deceaue it of your praise and celebracōn.*

The praise of knowledg.

Silence were the best celebracōn of that w^{ch} I meane to com[mend; for who would not vse silence there where silence is not made, and what [cryer can make silence in such a noyse and tumult of vaine and populer opin[ions? My praise shalbe dedicate to the mynd it selfe. The mind is the man an[d knowledg mind. a man is but what he knoweth. The minde it self is but an acc[ident to knowledge. ffor knowledge is a double of y^e w^{ch} is. The truth of be[ing and y^e truth of knowing is all one: Are the pleasures of the affectiōns great[er then y^e pleasures of the senses, and are not the pleasures of the intellectu gre[ater then the pleasures of the affectiōns? Js not that onelie a true and nat[ural pleasure whereof there is no facietie? Js not that knowledg alone [that doth clear the mind of all perturbaōns? How many thinge be there w^{ch} we [imagin

are not? how many thinge do we esteeme and valew more then ^{they} a[re. These vaine imaginations, these ill proportioned estimations, these be the [cloudes of error, that tourne into the stormes of perturbaōns. Js there then [any such happines as for a mans minde to be raised aboue the confusio[n of things, where he may haue a respect of the order of nature and the er[r]or of men? Js there but a veiue onelie of delight and not of discouerie? of contentm^t, and not of benefitt? shall we not discerne as well the riches of natures wa[r]ehouse as the beautie of her shopp? Is truth barren? shall we not therby [be able to produce worthy effecte and to endow the life of man wth infinit[e commodities? But shall I make this garland to be put vpon a wrong [head? Would any man belecue me if I should verifie this vpon the [knowledge that is now in vse? are we the richer by one poore invention by [reason of all the learning that hath ben this many hundred yeares? The in[dustrie of artificers maketh some smale improument of things invent[ed, and chance sometimes in experimenting makes vs stumble vpon somew^t [that is new. But all the] disputations of the learned neuer brought to lyg[ht one effect of nature before] unknowen. When thinge are knowen and found [out, then they can descant upon them: they can knitt them into certain causes: they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit: it can worke nothing. I do not dowbt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together which we call]

Logique or the arte of reason, may haue vse in popular studies, but they rather cast obscuritie then giue light to the contemplaçon of nature. All the Philosophie of nature w^{ch} is now receaued is eyther the Philosophie of the Gretians or that other of the Alchimist[℥]. That of the Grecians hath the foundation in word[℥], in ostentation, in confutaçon, in sectes, in Auditories, in schooles, in disputaçons. The Gretians are, as one of them saith, *you Gretians euer children*. They knew little antiquitie. They knew (except fables) not much aboue 500 yeares before themselves. They knew but a smale porción of the world. That of the Alchimist[℥] hath the foundation in imposture, in auricular tradiçons, and obscuritie. It was catching holde of religion, but the best principle of it is *populus vult decipi*: so as I knowe no great difference betweene theise great Philosophers, but that the one is a loude erieng follic, the other a whispering folly: the one is gathered out of a few vulgar obseruaçons, and the other out of a few experim^{ts} of the furnace: the one neuer faileth to multiplie words and the other ofte faileth to multiplie gold. Who would not smile at Aristotle, when he admireth y^e eternitic and inuariableness of the heav^ēs, as if there were not the like in the bowells of the earth. They be the confines and borders of theise 2 great kingdomes, where the continewall alteraçons and incursions are. The superficies and vpper part of y^e earth is full of varietie, the supficies and lower parte of the heauens w^{ch} we call the middle region of the ayre is full of varieties. There is much spiritt in the one place w^{ch} cannot be brought into masse, there is much massie bodie in the other place w^{ch} cannot be refinde into spiritt: the comō ayre is as the wast ground betweene the borders. Who would not smile at the Astronomers, J meane not theise new car men w^{ch} driue the earth about, but the auncient Astronomers, y^t faine the moone to be y^e swiftest of the planet[℥] in moçon, and y^e rest in order, the hier the [flower, and so are compelled to imagine a dooble moçon, whereas how euiden[t is it y^t y^t w^{ch} they call a contrarie moçon is but an abatement of moçon. The fixed starres ouergoe Saturne and Saturne leaueth behind him J[upiter, and so in them and the rest all is but one moçon, and the nearer the [earth y^e flower. A moçon also whereof the aire and the water do participate t[hough much interrupted. But whie do J in a conference of pleasure enter[into these great matters in sort that pretending to knowe much J should know [not season? Pardon me, it was because almost all thing[℥] may be indued[and adorned wth speeches, but] knowledge it self is more beautifull the[n any apparel of wordes y^t can be putt uppon it. And lett me not seeme arrogant wthowt respect to these great reputed authors. Lett me soe giue everie man his due, as I giue time his due, which is to discouer truth. Manie of these men had greater wittes, farre aboue mine owne, and soe are manie in the Universities of Europe at this day.]

But alas they learne nothing there but to belecue. firſt [to beleue that others know that w^{ch} they knowe not; and after [themſelves know y^t w^{ch} they knowe not. But indeede facilitie to beleue, impat[ience to doubt, timeritie to aſſeuer, glorie to knowe, doubt to contradiēt, en[d to gain, ſloth to ſearch, ſeeking thinge in wordes, reſting in a part of natur[e, theſe and the like haue ben in thinge w^{ch} haue forbidden the happie ma[tch between y^e minde of man and the nature of thinge, and in place therof ha[ue married it to vaine notions and blynde experim^{ts}. And what the poſteritie [and iſſue of ſo honorable a match may be it is not harde to conſider. Printing, [a groſs invention; Artillerie, a thing not farr out of the way; the needle, [a thing partly knowne before: w^t a change haue theſe 3 made in the world [in theſe times, the one in the ſtate of learning, the other in the ſtate of the [warre, the thirde in the ſtate of treaſure commodities and nauigation. [And theſe were as I ſay but ſtumbled vpon and lighted on by chaunce. Therfor [no doubt the ſoueraingtye of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many [things are reſerued w^{ch} kinge wth their treaſure cannot buy, nor wth th[eir force commaund: their ſpies and intelligencies can giue no newes of [them: their ſeamen and diſcouerers cannot faile where they grow. Now [we governe nature in opinions but are thrall to her in neceſſities. but if [we would be led by her inuention we ſhould command her in acōn.

A : *This ſpeache deſerueth to be vnderſtood.* B : *now S^r you [that firſt made this mocion : I wiſhe you no greater reuenge, but th[at one of vs 3 had intercepted your choiſe.* A : *that were ſmale r[euenge ; for then I would be ſilent.* B : *that were againſt your owne [commaund. but I ſhould ſmile to ſee you put to goe ouer the ſame ma[tter.*

The praiſe of his ſoueraigne.

No praiſe of magnanimitie nor of loue nor of knowledg can in[tercept her praiſe y^t planteth and norriſheth magnanimitie by her exam[ple, love by her perſon, and knowledge by the peace and ſerenitie of her tim[es. And if theſe rich peeces be ſo faire vnſett, w^t are they ſett? and ſett in [all perfeecōn? Magnanimitie no doubt conſiſt[in contempt of perrill, [in contempt of profit,] and in merriting the times wherein we liue. [For contempt of perrill, ſee a Ladie,] that cometh to the crowne [after the experience of ſome aduerſe fortune, which for the moſt part extenuateth the minde and maketh it apprehenſiue of feares. No ſooner ſhe taketh the ſcepter into her ſacred handes, but ſhe putteth on a reſolution to make the greateſt, the moſt important,]

the most dangerous alteration that can be in a state, the alteration of religion: this sheweth, not after a foueraingtie established & continued by sundrie yeares, when custome might haue bred in her people a more absolute obedience, when triall of her seruantes might haue made her more assured whom to employ, when the reputation of her policie and vertue might haue made her gouernment more redoubted; but at the verie entrance of her reigne, when she was greene in authoritie, her seruants scant knowen vnto her, the aduerser part not weakened, her owne part not confirmed: neyther doth she reduce or reuente her realme to the religion of the states about her, that the euill inclination of the subiect might be countervailed by the good correspondence in forraigne parts: but contrariwise she introduceth a religion exterminated and persecuted both at home and abroad. Her proceeding herein is not by degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encouraged thereto by the strength she found in leagues and alliances with great persons & potent confederates? no, but she found her realme in warres with her neereft and mightiest neighbors: she stood single and alone, in league onlie with one, that after her people had made his warres, left her to make her owne peace; one that could neuer by any sollicitation be moued to renew the treaties, and one that since hath proceeded from doubtfull termes of amitie to the hiest act of hostilitie. Yet notwithstanding all this, the opposition so great, the support so weake, the season so vproper, yet I say because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought vp, a religion that freed her subiects from pretence of forraigne powers, and indeed the true religion, shee brought to passe this great worke with successe answerable to so noble a resolution. See againe a Queene that when a deepe and secrete conspiracie was plotted against her sacred person, practized by subtile instruments, embraced by violent and desperate humors, bound and strengthened by vowes and sacraments, and the same was revealed vnto her, and yet the nature of the affaires required further ripening before the apprehension of any of the parties, was content to put herselfe in garde of the diuine providence and her owne prudence, to have some of the conspirators in her eye, to suffer them to approach to her person, to take a petition of your hand yet was coniuured for her death; and that with such manner of countenance, such mildnes and serenity of gesture, such art and impression of wordes, as had ben sufficient to haue repressed and bound the hand of a conspirator if he had not been discovered. Lastly see a Queene that when her realme was to haue been invaded by an armie, the preparation whereof was like the travel of an Elephant,

the prouisions infinite, the setting forth wherof was the [terror and wonder of Europe ; it was not scene that her cheare, her fash[on, her ordinary manner, was anie thing altered : not a cloude of that fl[orme did appeare in that countenance
 ^ wherein peace doth euer shine. but wth excellent aff[urance and aduised securitie she inspired her counsell, animated her nobilitie, redoubled y^e courage of her people ; still having this noble app[rehension not onelie [that she would communicate her fortune wth them, but y^t it was she that [w^d protect them, and not they her ; w^{ch} she testified wth no lesse demonstrati[on then her p[re]sence in campe. Therfor that magnanimitie that neith[er feareth greatnes of altera[ti]on, nor the vowes of conspirato^{rs} nor th[is] power of enemies, is more then heroicall. For contempt of p[ro]fitt, [consider her offers, consider her purchases. She hath raigned in a [most populous and welthie peace, her people greatelie multiplied, welth[i]ly appointed, and singularlie deuoted. She wanted not the examples of [the power of her armies in the memorable voyages and inuasions prosper[ous]ly made and atchieued, by sundrie her noble progenito^{rs}. She hath [not wanted p[re]tences as well of claime and right, as of quarrell and reu[enge]. She hath raigned during the minorities of some of her neighbo^r [princes, and during the fac[ti]ons & diuisions of their people vpon deepe and [irreconcilable quarrells, and during the embracing greatnes of some on[e that hath made himself as weake thorough to much burthen, as others [are through decaie of strength. And yett see her sitting wthin the compas[s]e of her sands. Scotland that doth in a manner eclipse her I[sl]and, the vnited [provinces of the lowe Countries, w^{ch} for scite, wealth, co[m]moditie of traffiq[ue, affection to our nacion, were most meete to be annexed to this Crowne, [she left the possession of the one and refused the soveraigntie of the other. [So that notwithstanding ygreatnes o f her meanes, the iustice of her prete[n]ces, and the rarenes of opportunities, she hath continewd her first [mynde : she hath made the possessions she receyued the limitt[e] of her dominion, [and the world the limitt[e] of her name, by a peace that hath stained all [victories. For her meritt, who doth not acknowledge that she hath ben as a [star of most fortunate influence vpon the adge wheron she hath shine[d] ? shall we speake] of meritts of clemencie or meritts of benefice[nce] ? Where shall a man take] the most proper and naturall [tryal of her royal clemencie ? Will it best appeare in the injuries that were done unto her before she attained the crowne ? or after she is seated in her throne, or that the commonwealth is incorporated in her person, then clemencie]

is drawn in question as a daungerous incounter betweene Iustice & pollicie. And therfor who did euer note than she did reſcent after ſhe was eſtabliſhed in her kingdome of the wronge done in her former ſtate? Who doth not remember how ſhe reuenged the rudenes and rigor of her Jailer by a worde? and that not bitter but ſalte, and ſuch as ſhewed rather the excellencie of her wit, then any impreſſion of the wrong. Yea and farther, is it not too manifeſt, that ſince her raigne, notwithſtanding that principle *that princes ſhould not neglect the commonwealthes wronges included in themſelues*, yett when it is queſtion of drawing the ſworde, there is euer a conflict betweene the iuſtice of her place, ioyned with the neceſſitie of her eſtate, and her owne royall clemencie, which as a ſoueraigne and precious balme continuallie diſtilleth from her faire handes, and falleth into the woundes of manie that haue incurred the offence of her lawes. Now for her beneficence, what kinde of perſons haue euer breathed during her moſt happie raigne, but haue had the benefite of her vertues conveyed vnto them? Take a veiwe and conſider whether they haue not extended to ſubiectes, to neighbors, to remote ſtraungers, yea to her greateſt enemies. For her ſubiectes, where ſhall we beginne in ſuch a maze of benefites as preſenteth it ſelfe to our remembrance? Shall we ſpeake of the purging away the droſſe of religion, the heauenlie treaſure? or that of monies, the earthlie treaſure? the greater was touched before and the latter deſerueth not to be forgotten. For who knoweth not, that knoweth anie thing in matters of eſtate, of the greate abſurdities and fraudes that ariſe of the deuorſing y^e legall eſtimacon of monie from the generall, and (as I may terme it) naturall eſtimacon of the mettalls, and againe of the incertaine and wavering valewes of coines, a verie laborinth of cooſenages and abuſes, and yett ſuch as great[e] princes haue made their proffitt of towards their owne people. Paſſe[on] from the myne to the reueneues and receiptes, there ſhall you fynd no[r]ayſing of rentes, notwithſtanding the alteracon of prizes and the vſage of the[t]imes, but the ouervalewe, beſides a reaſonable fine, leſte for the reliefe [of] tenants and rewarde of ſeruantes. No raiſing of cuſtomes notwithſtand[ing] her continuall charges of ſetting to ſea. No extremities taken of for[ſ]eiture and penall lawes, a meanes vſed by ſome kings for the ga[th]ering of great treaſures. A few forfeitures indeede, not taken [to] her owne purſe but ſett ouer to ſome others for triall onelie whether [g]aine could bring theſe lawes to be well executed, which the miniſters [of] juſtice did neglect. But] after it was founde that onelie com[p]aſſions were uſed, and the lawe neer the nerer the execution, the courſe was ſtraight ſuppreſſed and diſcontinewed. Yea there have been made laws more than one in her time for the reſtrainte of the vexation of informers and promoters: naye, a courſe

taken by her own direction for the repealing of all heaue and snared laws, if it had not bene crossed by those to whom the benefit should haue redounded. Ther shall you finde, no new taxes, impositions nor deuyces ; but the beneuolence of the subject freely offered by assent of Parliament according to the auncient rates, and with great moderation in assessment ; and not so only, but some new formes of contribution offered likewise by the subject in Parliament ; and the demonstration of their deuotion only excepted, but the thing neuer put in ure. Ther shall you finde loanes, but honourable answered and payd as it were the contracte of a private man. To conclude, there shall you find moneys leuied upon sales of lands, alienations (though not of the auncient patrimonie) yet of the rich and commodious purchases and perquisites of the Crowne only because she will not be greuous and burthensome to the people. This treasure, so innocently leuied, so honorably gathered and raysed, with such tenderne to the subject, without any basenes or drynes at all ; how hath it bene expended and imployed ? Wher be the wasteful buildings, and the exorbitant and prodigal donatives, the sumptuous dissipations in pleasures and vaine ostentations, which we finde haue exhausted the coffers of so many Kings ? It is the honour of her house, the royal remunerating of her servants, the preservation of her people and state, the protection of her suppliants and allies, the encounter, breaking and defeating the enemyes of her realme, that hath bene the only pores and pipes whereby the treasure hath yssued. Hath it bene the sinewes of a blessed and prosperous peace ? hath she bought her peace ? hath she lent the King of Spain money upon some cavillation not to be repeated ? and soe bought his fauour ? and hath shee given large pensions to corrupt his Counsel ? Noe, but shee hath used the most honorable diversion of troubles that canne be in the world. Shee hath kept the fyre from her own walles by seeking to quench it in her neighbors. That poor brand of the state of *Burgundy*, and that other of the crowne of *France* that remayneth, had bene in ashes but for the readie fountaine of her continewall benignitie. For the honor of her house, it is well known that almost the universal manners of the times doth incline to a certaine parsimonie and drines in that kinde of expence : yet shee retayneth the auncient magnificence, the allowance as full, the charge greater than in time of her father, or anie king before. The bookes appeare, the computation will not flatter. And for the remunerating and rewarding of her servants and the attendance of the Court, let a man cast and soine up all the bookes of giftes, fee farmes, leases and custodies that haue passed her bountiful hands. Let him consider again what a number of commodious and gaineful offices heretofore bestowed upon men of other education and profession haue bene withdrawn and conferred upon her Courte. Let him remember what a number of other giftes, disguised by other names but in effect as good as monie given out of her cofers, haue bene granted by her : and he will conclude that her royall minde is farre above her meanes. The other benefits of her politick,

clement, and gracious government towards the subjects are without number; the state of justice good, notwithstanding the great subtiltie and humorous affections of these times; the securitie of peace greater than can be described by that verse,

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat :

Nutrit rura Ceres almaque fauflitas :

or that other

Condit quisque diem collibus in suis.

The opulencye of the peace such as if you have respect (to take one signe for manie) to the number of faire houses that have bene built since her raigne, as *Augustus* said that he had receyved the city of brick and leste it of marble, so shee maye saye shee receyved it a realme of cottages and hath made it a realme of palaces: the state of traffique great and rich: the customes, notwithstanding these warres and interruptions, not fallen: manie profitable trades, manie honorable discoveries: and lastly, to make an end where no end is, the shipping of this realme soe advanced and made soe mighty and potent, as this lland is become (as the natural scite thereof deserved) the ladie of the sea; a point of soe high consequence, as it may be truly said that the commaundement of the sea is an abridgement or a quintessence of an universal monarchy. This and much more hath shee merited of her subjects: now to set forth the merit of her neighbors and the states about her. It semeth the tymes have made themselves purveyors of continual newe and noble occasions for her to shewe them benigntie, and that the fyers of troubles abroad have bene ordayned to [be] as lights and tapers to make her vertew and magnanimitie more apparant. For when that one, stranger borne, the familie of *Guise*, being as a hastie weed sprung up in a night, had spread itself to a greatnes not civil but seditious; a greatnes, not of encounter of the auneynt nobilitie, not of preheminencie in the favor of kings, and not remisse of affayres from kings; but a greatnes of innovation in state, of usurpations of auctoritie, of affecting of crownes; and that accordingly under color of consanguinitie and religion they had brought French forces into Scotland, in the absence of their King and Queen being within their usurped tutell: and that the aunient nobilitie of this realme, seeing the imminent danger of reducing that kingdom under the tyranny of forinors and their faction, had according to the good intelligence betwixt the two crownes prayed her neighborly succours: shee undertooke the action, expelled the strangers, restored the nobilitie to their degree; and leste anie man should think her intent was to unneeste ill neighbors, and not to ayde good neighbors, or that shee was readier to restore what was invaded by others then to render what was in her owne hands: see if the tyme provided not a newe occasion afterwards, when through their owne devisions (without the intermise of strangers) her forces were again sought and required; shee forooke them not, prevailed so far as to be possessed of the castell of Edenborough, the principall strength of that kingdome, w^{ch} place incontinently, without cunctations or cavillations (the preambles of a wavering fayth) she rendered with all honour and sinceritie; and his person to safe and]

faithfull handes; and so euer after during his minoritie con[tinewed his principall guardian and protector. In the times betweene theese [two occasyons of Scotland, when the same facc[on] of Guise, couered still wth a p[re]tence of religion, and strengthened by desire of retaining govern^t in the mothe[r] Queene of Fraunce, had raised and moued ciuell warres in y^t kingdome, [only to extirpate the auncient nobilitie by shocquing them one against ano[ther], and to waste y^t Realme as the candle that is lighted at both endes, and that [those of y^e Religion, being neare of the bloude royall and otherwise of the gre[ate]st howse in Fraunce, and great officers of the Crowne, opposed the[m]selves only against their insolencie, and to their support called in their [aides, giving vnto them new-*Hauen* for a place of securitie, see wth w^t [alacritye, in

tender regard towards ^{y^e fortune of} that young king, whose name was v[er]sed to y^e supplanting of his owne strength, she embraced the enterprize, [by the support and reputac[on] whereof the same p[ar]tie suddenlie made great p[ro]ceed[ings] and in conclusion made their peace as they would themselues. And although they ioyned themselues against and p[er]formed y^e parts rather of [good patriots then of good confederates, and that after great demonstration [of valour in her subiects (as the French to this daie will reporte), especia[lly by y^e great mortalitie, and by the hand of god, and the rather bec[ause] it is knowen she did neuer much affect the holding of that towne [to her owne vse, it was lefte & her forces wthdrawen, yett that did [nothing diminishe the merritt of y^t crowne, and namelie of that p[ar]tie, [who recovered by it such strength, as by y^t and no other thing they subsisted [long after. And lea[st] any man should sinisterlie and maliciouslie enterp[re]t that she did nourish these diuisions, who knoweth not w^t faithfull advice, [continual and earnest sollicitac[on] she vsed by her Embassado[rs] and minister[s] to y^e French k[ing] succe[ss]fullie, and to their mother, to moue them to keepe the[ir] edicts of Pacifica[on] and to retaine their owne au[thor]itie and gre[atnes] by the vnion of their subiect[es]: w^{ch} counsell (if it had been as h[appily] followed as it was prudentlie and sincerelie given,) Fr[ance] had bene at this day a most flourishing kingdome, w^{ch} is now a theat[er] of miserye. And now at last when the same house of Guise, being one of [the whippes of god (whereof themselues are but y^e cordes and Spaine y^e [stocke) had by their infinite aspiring practises wrought y^t miracle of st[ates], to make a king in possession long establisshed to play againe for his [crowne, without any] title of a competitor, wthout any maine inuasion [of a forcine enemye, yea] wthout any combina[on] in substaunce of any bloud [royall or nobilitie, but onelie by f]urring in audacious persons in[to] sondry government, and by making the populare of townes drunke with seditious preachers; and that King Henry the third, awaked by those p[re]ssing dangers, was compelled to execute the Duke of Guise without ceremony, and yett nevertheless found the despayre of soe manie persons embarked and engaged in that conspiracye]

so violent, as the flame therby was little asswaged, so as he was inforced to implore her aydes and succors, consider how benigne eare & correspondence she gaue to the distressed request of y^t king: and he soone after being by the sacrilegious hand of a wretched Jacobine lifted vp against the sacred person of his naturall soueraigne taken away (wherein not the criminous death of Guise but the innocent bloude w^{ch} he had often spilt by the instiga^on of him and his howse was revenged,) and y^t this worthy gen^l who now raigneth came to the crowne, it will not be forgotten by so gratefull a king nor by so observing an adge, how readie, how opportune and seasonable, how royall and sufficient her succor were, whereby she enlarged him at that time and p^rserued him to his better fortune. And euer since in these tedious warres wherein he hath to doe wth a Hydra or monster wth manie heades, she hath supported him wth treasure wth treasure, wth forces, and wth employ^mt of one whom she favo^reth most. What shall I speake of the offering Don Ant: to his fortune, a deuoted Catholique onelie commended vnto her by his oppressed State? What should I speake of the great storme of a mightie inuasion, not in p^rpara^on but in acte by the Turke vpon the king of Poland, latelie dissipated onelie by the hand of her reputa^on w^{ch} wth the grand *Seignior* is greater then that of all the States of Europe put together. But lett me rest vpon the honorable and continuall ayde and releife she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the lowe countries, a people commended vnto her by auncient confederacie and dailie entercourse, by their cause so innocent and their fortune so lamentable. And yett notwithstanding, to keepe the conformitie of her owne p^reeding^l neuer stained wth the least noate of ambition or malice, she refused the soveraintie of diuers goodlie p^rvinces, offred vnto her wth great instance, to haue ben accepted wth grea^te content^mt both of her owne people and theirs, and iustlie to be deriu^sed either in respect of the hostilitie of Spaine, or in respect of the condⁱoⁿs liberties and priuiledges of these subiects, and wth one charge daung^r & offence to the king of Spaine and his ptizans: she hath taken vpon her onelie their defence and protec^on, wthout any further auaille or p^rffit vnto he^rself then the honor and merritt of her benignitie: a people that haue ben p^rsued by

their naturall king onelie by passion and wrath in sort that ^{he hath} ^ [according to y^e proverbe (*aratro iaculari*) consumed his meanes vpon re^venge. And (having to verifie that w^{ch} I haue said, y^t her merritt^l haue [extended to her greatest enemies) lett it be remembred w^t hath passed [in y^t matter betwene the king of Spaine and her. First how in the [beginning of y^e troubles there she gaue and imparted to him faithfull and [friendly advice touching y^e course that was to be taken for the quietⁱng and appeasing of them. Then shee interposed her selfe to most iust and reasonable capitulations, wherein alwayes should haue bene preserved vnto him as ample interest jurisdiction and superioritie in those countries as he in right could claime, or a Prince well minded would seek to haue, and (w^h is the greatest point)]

ſhe did by her advice, creditt, and pollicie, and all good meane[s] inſrupt & impeache that the ſame people by deſpaire ſhould not vtterly alien and diſtraite themſelues from the obedience of the king of Sp: a[n]d caſt them ſelues into the armes of a ſtraunger, inſomuch as it is moſt [true that ſhe did euer diſſuade the Duke of Aniou from that accōn notwth ſtanding the affeccion ſhe [bare y^e] ſaid Duke and the obſtinacie w^{ch} ſhe ſawe dailie [growing in y^e king of Sp: Laſtlic to touch the mightie and generall meritt [of this Queene, beare in mynde that her benignitie hath ben as large [as the oppreſſion and ambition of the Sp: For to beginne wth the Church of [Rome, y^t p^tended Apoſtolicke ſea is become but a donative cell of the kyng of [Spayne: the vicar of Chriſt is become the king of Sp^s chapleyne: he pteth the com[ing in of the new pope for the treaſure of the olde. He was wont to exclude [but ſome 2 or 3 cardinalls, and to leaue the elecōn free of the reſt. But now h^e doth include and preſent directlic ſome ſmale number, all incapable and incompaſſible wth the *Conclauē*, put in onelic for culler, except one or two]. The ſtates of Italie, they be like little quillett^e of freehold^e lying interrupte wthin a great Lordſhipp. Fraunce is turned vpside downe, the ſubject againſt the king, cutt and mangled infinitelic: a countrey of Rodam[onts & Royetelets, farmers of the warres. Portugall vſurped by no other [title then ſtrength and vicinitie. The lowe countries warrd vpon, becauſe [he ſeeketh, not to poſſeſſe them (for they were poſſeſſed by him before) but to p[lant there an absolute and martiall govern^t to ſuppreſſe their liberties]: the like at this day attempted vpon Arragon; the poore Indies, wheras [y^e chriſtian religion generallie brought infranchiſem^{ts} of ſlaues where it [came, in a contrarie courſe are brought from free men to be ſlaues and [ſlaves of moſt miſerable condiōn. The ſundrie practiſes and tyrannies [of this King's ambition in Germanie, Denmarke, Scotlande, the eaſt town[es, are not vnknown. Then it is her govern^t and her gverm^t alone that hath [bene y^e ſconſe and forte of all *Europe*, w^{ch} hath lett this proud nat[ion from ou[coming all. If any ſtate be yett free from his facōns [erec[t]ed in y^e bowells thereof, if there be any ſtate where this facōn is er[ec]ted, y^t is not yet fired wth ciuell troubles, if there be anie ſtate vnder his prote[ction upon whom he vſurpeth not, if there be anie ſtate ſubie[ct] to him th[at enjoyeth moderate libertie vppon whom he tirannizeth not, lett them [all knowe it to be the meritt of this renowned Queene, that ſtandes b[etw]eene them and their diſfortunes. Theſe be ſome of the beames of her [noble and radiant magnanimitic, in contempt of perrill w^{ch} ſo many flie, in c[ontempt of pro]fitt w^{ch} ſo manie admire, and in meritt of the [worlde w^h ſoe manie include in] themſelues, ſett forth in my ſimplicitie [of ſpeech wth much loſs of luſtre, but] wth neare approach of truth; as [the ſunne is ſcene in the water. Now to paſſe to the excellences of her perſon; the viewe of them wholly and not ſeverallie doe make ſoe ſweete a wonder as I feare to diuide them againe: nobilitie extracte out of the royall and victorious lynce of the kings of England; yea both roſes white and red do as well florifhe in her nobilitie as in]

her beautie : a health such as is like she should haue, that was brought forth betweene two of the goodliest princes of the world, in strength of their yeares, in heate of their loue ; y^t hath not ben iniured neyther wth an ouer liberall nor an ouer curious diett ; that hath not ben softened by an vmbatill life still vnder the rooffe, but strengthened by vse of the pure and open aire, that still retaineth flower and vigor of youth. ffor the beautie and manie graces of her p^sence what cullors are fine enough for such a portraiture ? Lett no light Poett be vsed for such a description, but the chastest and the royallest.

of her gate
et vera incessu patuit dea
 of her voice
nec vox hominem sonat
 of her eye
et lætos oculis afflarat honores
 of her couler
Indū sanguineo veluti violauerit ostro, siquis Ebur
 of her necke
et rosea ceruice refulsit
 of her breast
veste sinus collecta fluentes
 of her haire
ambrosiæq; comæ diuinū vertice odorem spirauere

If this be p^sumption lett him beare the blame that oweth y^e verses. w^t shall J speake of her rare qualities of complem^{ts}, w^{ch} as they be excellent in y^e thing^l themselves so they haue alwaies besides somew^t of a Queene ; and as Queenes vse shadowes and vailles wth their rich apparell, so methink^l in all her quallities there is somew^t that flieth from ostentation and yett inviteth the minde to contemplate the more. w^t should J speake of her excellent guiste of speach [bearing a carac^ter of the greatenes of her conceipte, the height of her degre^s, and the sweetnes of her nature ? W^t life, w^t grace, w^t edge is there [in theise wordes and glaunces wherwth at pleasure she can giue a [man longe to thinke ? be it y^t shee meane to daunt him, to encorrage him [or to amaze him. How admirable is her discourse, whether it be in lea^rning, state, or loue. W^t varietie of knowledge ? w^t rarenes of conceypt ? [what choice of word^l ? w^t grace of vtterance ? Doth it not appeare, th[at though her witt be as the adamant of excellencies w^{ch} draweth out of a[nic book auncient or new, out of any writing or speach the best, yett [shee refineth it, she enricheth it farr aboue y^e valewe wherein it wa^s received. And is her speach onelic y^t language w^{ch} the child [learneth wth pleasure, and not that w^{ch} the studious learne wth industrie ? [Hath shee not attained beside] her rare eloquence in her owne lan^guage, infinitely polished since her happy times, changes of] other [languages both learned and moderne : so that she is able to negotiate wth divers ambassa^dors in their owne languages, and that wth no [small] disadvantage unto them: who I thinke cannot but have a great part of]

their witts distracted from their matters in hand to the contemplation & admiration of such perfections. Would I wander on to speake of y^e excellencies of her nature w^{ch} cannot endure to be looked on wth a discontented eye? [of y^e constancy of her favo^{rs} w^{ch} maketh her service as a iorney by land, wheras y^e service of other Princes is like an imbarquing by sea. As for her royal wisdom and pollicie, he that shall note the prudent temper she vseth in admitting accessse, of the one side maintayning the mat^{ie} of her degree, and on the other side not prejudicing herself by looking into her estate thorough too few windowes: her exquisite judgm^t in choosing and finding good servant^e (a pointe wherein her father excelled): her polittique skill in making and trayning good servant^e (a point beyond y^e former): a profound discretion in assigning and appropriating everie of them [to their aptest employm^t: her penetrating sight in discouering euerie mans end^e & drifts: her wonderfull art in keeping her servant^e in satisfacc^{on} and yett in [appetite: her intentiue witt in contriving plott^e and outournes: her exact caution in censuring the proposic^{on}s of others: her secreacie: her foreseeing [events, her vsing occasions: he that shall consider of these and other thing[s y^t may not well be touched, as he shall neuer cease to wonder at such a [Queene, soe he shall wonder the lesse y^t in so dangerous times, when witt^e [are soe cunning, humo^{rs} so extrauagant, passions so violent, corrupecons so [great, dissimulacons so deepe, facons so many, she hath notwithstanding done such great things & raigned in such felicitie. For to speake of her fortune, [let no man obiect to me as a defect in her fortune y^t w^{ch} I did reserue for [a garlande of her honor, and y^t is that she liueth a virgin and hath no [children. ffor it is that w^{ch} maketh all other vertues & act^e more sacred, more [august, more devine. Lett them leaue children y^t leaue no other memorie in the [ir times. *Bru-torū æternitas soboles.* Revolue in histories the memories of happie [men, and you shall not fynde any of rare felicitie but eyther he died ch[ildless or his lyne soone spent after his death, or else was vnfortunate in [his children. Should a man haue children to be slayne by his vassall[s, as the *Posthumus* of Alexander y^e great was? or to call them his [imposthumes, as *Augustus Cæsar* called his? Pervse the catalogue. *Cornelius Sylla, Julius Cæsar, Flavius Vespasian, Septimius Seuerus, Constan[tinus* the greate; and the rule holdeth. *Generare et liberi humana, cre[are et opera diuina.* And therfor (this obiecc^{on} remoued) lett^e pceede to take a veiue of her felicitie. A mate of fortune she neuer [tooke: onely some aduersitie she passed at the first, to giue her [a quicker sense of the prosperitie that should follow, and to make her [more reposed in the diuine pvidence. Well she commeth to y^e crowne. [It was noe small fortune to] fynde at her entrañce some such seruā^t [and counsellors as shee then found. The French King, who at this time by reason of the peace concluded with Spayne and of the interest he had in Scotland mought have proved a dangerous neyghbour, by howe strange an accident was he taken away. The King of Spayne, who if he would have enclyned to reduce the Lowe Countries by lenitie, confydering the goodly reuenues]

w^{ch} he drew from those countries, the greate commodites to annoy her
 state from them, might haue made a mightie & perillous machina^con
 against her repose, putteth on a resolu^con not onelie to vse the meanes
 of those lowe countries but to spende and consume all his other meanes,
 the treasures of his Indies, and the forces of his ill compacted dominions,
 there and vpon them. The Earles y^t rebelled in the North before the
 Duke of Norff: plotte (w^{ch} indeed was the strength and Steele of y^t com-
 motion) was fullie ripe, brooke forth and preuented their time. The king
 Sebastian of Portugall, whom the king of Sp: would faine haue per-
 swaded, that it was a deuoter enterprize to purge Christendome then to
 enlarde it, though some thinke he did artificiallic nourish him in y^t voyadg,
 is cutt in peeces wth his army in Affriq. Then hath the king of Sp: wo^ke
 cutt out to make all thinge in readines during the olde Cardinalls
 time for the conquest of Portugall, whereby his desire of inuading
 England was slacked and put of some yeares, and by y^t meanes was put
 in execu^con at a time for some respect more to his disadvantadg. And y^e same
 inuasion, like as if it had ben attempted before, it had the time much more
 proper and favorable, so likewise had it (in true discourse) had a better
 season afterward. For if it had ben deferred till time that the league
 had ben better confirmed in ffr: w^{ch} no doubt it would haue ben if y^e
 Duke of Guise (who was the onelie man of worth on that side) had liued,
 (and the ffr: K: durst neuer haue layd hande on him had he not ben ani-
 mated by the English victorie against the Sp: pcedent:) and then some
 maritime townes had ben gotten into the hande of the league, it had ben a
 great suertie and strength to that enterprize. The Popes to consider
 of them, whose course and pollicie it had ben, to haue temporized and [to
 haue dispensed wth y^e papists coming to Church, that through the
 maske of their hipocrisie, they might haue ben brought into pl^aaces
 of govern^t in State and in the countrey, they contrariwise [by the
 instigation of some fugitive schollers y^t advise them not w^t w^as best
 for the sea of Roome but w^t agreed best wth their owne eag^er humours
 and desperate states, discouer and declare themselves so f^arre by sending
 in of Seminaries and taking reconcilem^t, as there is ne^w severitie of
 lawes introduced for y^e repressing of that sort, and [men of that religion
 are become y^e more suspect. W^t should I say of [foe manie secrete con-
 spiracies miraculoulic detected? The record[s] shew the treasons; but
 it is yett hidden in many of them how [they came to light. What should
 I spea]ke of the death of her ene[mies and the wicked instrum^{ts}. towards
 her estate? Don Juan dyed not amisse: Dawbeny, Duke of Lenox, who was
 used as an instrument to divorce Scotland from the amitye of England, dyed
 in no ill season, a man withdrawen indeed at that time to France; but
 not without greate helpe. I maye not mention the death of some]

that occur to my minde, but still me think^e they live [that should live, and they die that should die. J would not haue the [K of Spain dye yet: he is *seges gloria*. But when he groweth daungerous, or any [other besides him, J am perswaded they will die. What should I [speake of the fortunes and honor of her armies? w^{ch} notwthstanding the [inward peace of this nation, were neuer more renowned. What sh^{ould} I recount *Leeth*, *Newhauen*, J say *Newhauen*, for the honorable s[kirmishes and seruices there are no blemishe at all to the militia of [England. In the lowe countries, the *Lammas* day, the retrait of [Gante, the daye at Sutphen, and the prosperous progresse of this s[ummer: The brauado in Portugall and the honorable exploit^e in [the ayde of the French kyng; besides the memorable voyages into the [Indies, and lastlie the good entertainem^t of the invincible navie, [w^{ch} was chased till the chasers were wearie, after infinite losse, wthout t[aking a cock-boate, wthout firing a shipcoate, sailed on at the mercie of the [winde and the discrea^{ti}on of their adventurers, making a perambula^{ti}on or [pilgrimage about the northren seas, and ennobling many shoores and point^e [of lande by shipwraekes, and so returned home wth scorne & dishonor [much greater then the terror and expecta^{ti}on of their setting forth. T[hese vertues and perfec^{ti}ons, ioyned wth so great felicitie, haue made he[r the honour of her times, the admira^{ti}on of the world, the suite and [aspiring of the greatest kyng^e and princes, who yett durst neuer haue aspi[red unto her as worthy of her, but as their mindes were raised by l[ove. But while do J forgett that word^e doe extenuate and embase ma[tters of that height? Time is her best commender, w^{ch} neuer broug[ht forth such a prince, whose imperiall vertues contende wth the [excellencie of her person, both vertues contende wth her fortune, and [both vertue and fortune contende wth her fame.

{ *orbis amor, famæ carmen, cœliq pupilla,* }
 { *tu decus omne tuis: tu decus ipsa tibi.* }



NOTES.





NOTES.

P. 3, l. 1. *of tribute or giving that w^h is due.* It is difficult to understand the history of this title, which is not suggested by any conspicuous expression in the work, and can hardly be called descriptive of the argument. I incline to suspect that the piece formed part of some larger entertainment, in the course of which "the payment of tribute to whom tribute was due," may have been enjoined as a task upon one or more of the performers; and that this was Bacon's way of discharging it.

P. 3, l. 19. *Theise be good innocent things.* Compare *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (Works I. 697). *Negativæ istæ virtutes non placent. Nam innocentiam præstant, non merita.*

P. 3, l. 19. *the vertue of action.* Compare, *Amo virtutes quæ excellentiam actionis inducunt, non hebetudinem passionis.* Id. *ibid.*

P. 4, l. 1. *understandings.* This word, having been omitted by the original transcriber, is inserted above the line by another hand.

The things which entertain men in a persuasion of the strength of their understandings in contemplation of dangers, but fail them in the trial, are, I suppose, the "goodly grounds of reason" &c., spoken of before.

P. 4, l. 14. *He looketh thorough and thorough that perill.* Compare *De Aug. Sci.* (ub. sup.) *Qui pericula apertis oculis intuetur ut excipiat, advertit et ut evitet.*

P. 4, l. 16. *ceaseth not to device.* So in MS.

P. 4, l. 30. *begñeth.* So written in MS., unless it be read "beginneth." A slip of the pen, no doubt; "beginneth" must have been the word which the transcriber meant to write.

P. 4, last line. The three or four lines which are lost here appear to have treated of the value of Temperance without Fortitude; and to have begun

with an exposure of the weakness of the Stoicism which affects to divest itself of wants by renouncing desires. The argument is seriously discussed in the second book of the *Advancement of Learning*, in the remarks on private and particular good.

P. 5, l. 2. *Will you neither followe others nor spare yourself?* So in MS. I suspect some mistake both in this line and the next; where "an occasion *and* censure," though certainly the reading of the MS. can hardly be what Bacon meant to write. But the general meaning is clear enough; Will you pretend to despise all that other men value?

P. 5, l. 6. *I seek but an even tenor of minde.* Compare *Advice to the Earl of Rutland in his travels*; "The Stoics were of opinion that there was no way to attain this even temper of mind but to be senseless; and so they sold their goods to ransom themselves from their evils."—*Letters and Life of Bacon*. Vol. II. p. 8.

P. 5, l. 7-10. *I will not use, &c.* Compare *Advancement of Learning*, Book II. p. 247. "For can it be doubted that there are some who take more pleasure in enjoying pleasures than some other; and yet nevertheless are less troubled with the loss or leaving of them: So as this same *Non uti ut non appetas; Non appetere ut non metuas, sunt animi pusilli et diffidentis.*" Compare also *De Aug. Scient.* Lib. VI. p. 697. "*Ista non uti ut non appetas, non appetere ut non timeas, pusillanimi sunt et diffidentis.*"

P. 5, l. 12. *of the destitution of a pleasure.* So in the MS. as originally written. A later pen has substituted "recess" for "destitution," which is evidently a critic's crotchet. The corrector thought "destitution" an imperfect antitheton to "accesse." But I think Bacon would have considered the objections to "recess" more weighty.

P. 5, l. 14. *against heat of sunshine, &c.* Temperance without Fortitude might teach a man to do without pleasure, but not to encounter pain; and was therefore a provision against heat of sunshine, which warms and comforts, but not against heat of fire, which burns and hurts.

P. 5, l. 20. *a man is able to use pleasures, &c.* Compare *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 242. "So as Diogenes opinion is to be accepted, who commended not them which abstained, but them which sustained, and could refrain their minde in *præcipitio*, and could give unto the mind (as is used in horsemanship) the shortest stop or turne."

P. 5, l. 24. *Of Pleasure, now lett us inquire.* "As for pleasure, wee have likewise determined that the minde oughte not to bee reduced to stupid, but to retain pleasure; confined rather in the subject of it then in the strength and vigor of it." *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 86 b.

P. 5, l. 26. *shall make, but it is the blessing nature, &c.* The construction here is awkward, but the remedy does not seem to lie within the

space left for conjecture; and there can be no doubt about the words as they stand in the MS. There is a full stop, indeed, after "make," but I do not know how to fill the blank so as to form a complete sentence, and I think a word must have been omitted by the transcriber. Perhaps "make a doubt." or "make me doubt, but it is," &c. The general meaning of the sentence is sufficiently clear; and the lost lines at the bottom of the page must evidently have referred to the impossibility without help from fortitude of enjoying pleasure. Concerning which compare *De Aug. Sci.* p. 697:—*Nil aut in voluptate solidum aut in virtute munitum, ubi timor infestat.*

P. 6, l. 1. *as deare y^t come.* So in the original transcript. The corrector, whose work I have noticed before, has altered it into "*a deare y^t is come,*" and turned "stand" and "feede" into "stands" and "feedes." Evidently a grammatical crotchet: he thought one man could not be as more than one deer. But I have no doubt that Bacon wrote it as it stands and would not have approved of the alteration.

P. 6, l. 4. *his pleasures be.* So in the MS. as it was first written: altered (not by the later pen just mentioned, but possibly by the original transcriber) to "his pleasure is:" which may have been a correction from his copy, and the right reading.

P. 6, l. 6. *to nature . . . so lightlie.* In the MS. the words "to nature" are repeated, and a line drawn through them; and in the next sentence the words "[so] lightlie" are inserted (in the transcriber's hand) in the margin. This caused a double difficulty in the printing; and as this is a part of the MS. which the fire has not reached, and to which (no words having to be supplied by conjecture) the reasons which made it expedient in the other parts to make the place of each word in the printed line correspond as exactly as possible with its place in the written line do not apply, I have taken the liberty to transfer the two first words of the seventh line to the end of the sixth; thereby filling the blank and making room for the marginal insertion within the line.

P. 6, l. 13. *so as that which should season, &c.* The MS. has "so as that w^{ch} season." I have inserted the word which the sense obviously requires.

P. 6, l. 27. *maketh y^e mynde bring the workes, &c.* The word "bring" does not quite satisfy me. But I cannot think of another beginning with *b* which would suit better.

P. 6, l. 29. *those extreame things called euills.* "Extreame" is certainly the word in the MS.; but I think it is a mistake for "externe." The reconciliation of virtue with pleasure answers to the compounding of civil dissensions; the conquest of "externe" or outward evils to the defeating of foreign enemies.

In the loft lines at the bottom, the ſpeaker ſeems to have referred to the relief which nature has provided againſt exceſs of bodily ſuffering, by inducing inſenſibility; and to the fact that thoſe outward evils which it is in the power of fortune to inflict are made intolerable chiefly by apprehenſion, and can therefore be overcome by courage and patience, of which fortune cannot deprive us.

P. 7, l. 4. *Nothing is to be feared but fear itſelf.* Compare *De Aug. Sci. Lib. VI.* p. 697, "*Nil terribile niſi ipſe timor.*" Alſo *Advice to the Earl of Rutland on his travels.* "It teacheth us . . . that pain and danger be great only by opinion, and that in truth nothing is fearful but fear itſelf."—*Letters and Life*, ꝑc. Vol. II. p. 9.

P. 7, l. 5. *For let us remember,* ꝑc. Compare *Advice to the E. of Rutland.* "There is nothing in nature more general or more ſtrong than the fear of death, and to a natural man there is nothing ſeems more impoſſible than to reſolve againſt death. But both martyrs for religion, heathen for glory, ſome for love of their country, others for affection to one ſpecial perſon, have encountered death without fear, and ſuffered it without ſhow of alteration."—*Letters and Life*, ꝑc. Vol. II. p. 9. Compare alſo *Eſſay of Death*; "It is no leſs worthy to obſerve how little alteration in good ſpirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the ſame men till the laſt inſtant. Auguſtus Cæſar died in a compliment," &c.

P. 7, l. 8. *I do wonder at the Stoicks,* ꝑc. There appears to have been ſomething wrong here in the MS.; for the word "wonder" is inſerted in the left-hand margin by the corrector; and it is difficult to gueſs how the other line was filled up. Perhaps "I doe often," or "I cannot but." Nor am I quite ſatisfied with the filling of the blank in the next line but one; "w^t they [ſh^d ſoe urge,]" &c. But ſeveral examples occur in this very compoſition of the uſe of "what" in the ſenſe of "why;" and there can be little doubt that this was the general effect of the obſervation; which Bacon has repeated in his later writings more than once. See *Adv. of Learn.* Book II. p. 74 b. "And it ſeemeth to me that moſt of the doctrines of the philoſophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth. So have they increaſed the feare of death in offering to cure it. For when they would have a man's whole life to be but a diſcipline or preparation to dye, they muſt needs make men thinke that it is a terrible enemy againſt whom there is no end of preparing. Better faith the Poet,

" *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat*
Naturæ."

And again in the *Eſſays*, ed. 1625. "Certainly the Stoics beſtowed too much coſt upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better faith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum,*" &c.

P. 7, l. 10. *others sectes.* So in MS.

P. 7, l. 14. *to live as though they continually should die.* Compare *Advice to the E. of Rutland.* "That he which dies nobly doth live for ever, and he that lives in fear doth die continually."

P. 7, l. 31. *Should he have said, wh. . .* I cannot fill up the blank in this line to my satisfaction. The problem is, to insert between "*wh. . .*" and "*in the temple of the gods?*" in a space not admitting more than fifteen letters, words such as *Cæsar* might naturally have uttered, had it not been that they would have implied an assumption that "his person was more venerable than the place;" and I do not see how such an assumption can be implied in a sentence ending with those words.

The probable import of the lost lines at the bottom of the leaf is also beyond my power of divination.

P. 8, l. 2. *ympoining.* I believe the word in the MS. was meant by the transcriber for "*ympoming*;" but as there is really no difference in this handwriting between *m* and *in* except the dot, I have admitted the correction (which I owe to Mr. Aldis Wright) into the text. The word (which is from the French *empoigner*, to grasp) was then, I suppose, a candidate for admission into the language, but an unsuccessful one. I do not think I ever met with it in English anywhere else.

It is perhaps worth observing that these remarks on the character and death of Julius Cæsar explain a passage in one of Bacon's letters to Tobie Matthew, for which I had suggested an explanation somewhat different. Speaking of the *In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ*, he says, "Of this when you were here I showed you some model; though at that time methought you were more willing to hear Julius Cæsar than Queen Elizabeth commended.—" *Letters and Life*, &c. Vol. IV. p. 133. The allusion, no doubt, is to this passage, in connexion with the speech which follows in praise of the worthiest person. Not knowing that "Mr. Bacon in praise of his sovereign" had anything to do with Cæsar, I thought he might have alluded to the *Imago civilis Julii Cæsaris*. See Works. Vol. VI. p. 284.

P. 8, l. 26. *I am upon the point to be made a god.* The corrector has inserted marks of parenthesis round these words, supposing apparently that "if I be not deceived" belonged to the speaker. But the whole sentence is meant for Vespasian's speech; and it was an error in the MS. that it was not all written in Roman hand, like the others.

For the whole passage, compare the *Essay of Death*. "*Augustus Cæsar* died in a complement; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.* *Tiberius* in dissimulation; As *Tacitus* faith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires et Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserebant.* *Vespasian* in a Jest; Sitting upon the Stool, *ut puto Deus fio.* *Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri. si ex re fit populi Romani,*

Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Severus* in despatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*. And the like."

Another anecdote illustrating the same freedom from alteration at the immediate prospect of death, in the case of some Roman philosopher in the time of Caligula, appears to have concluded the paragraph. But the fragments which the fire has spared are too scanty to enable me to supply it.

P. 9, l. 9. *Other vertues deliver us from the rule of vices, &c.* Compare *De Aug. Scient.* p. 697. "*Cætæræ virtutes nos a dominatu liberant vitiorum: fortitudo sola a dominatu fortunæ.*"

P. 9, l. 13. *He deserveth to be . . . speech.* "To be crowned for his speech" has been suggested. But there is hardly room, and it seems to me too common-place: the reward would have had some reference to the speaker's doctrine.

P. 9, l. 20. *a race.* So in MS. Mr. Aldis Wright suggests *an ice*, referring to *Adv. of Learn.* p. 75. "And therefore men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers; who, if there be a graine, or a cloude, or an ice, which may be ground forth without taking to much of the stone, they help it," &c. I have no doubt he is right; *an ice*, carelessly written, might easily look like *a race*.

P. 10, l. 12. *then is the season, the opportunitie, and the spring of love.* Compare *Essay of Love*. "This Passion hath his Flouds in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie*, and great *Adversitie*; though this latter hath beene lesse observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more fervent; and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly."

P. 10, l. 18. *commend vertue fortitude.* So in MS. A mistake, no doubt, for "the vertue."

P. 10, l. 19. *from the tyrannyes of fortune.* See above, p. 9, l. 10.

P. 10, l. 21. *directed.* So in MS.; a mistake, I think, for "diverted."

P. 10, l. 22-25. *and that's the reasons . . . vertue.* So in MS.; but there must be something wrong. Some words have been omitted, or some interlinear insertion has been misunderstood and misplaced. Perhaps the sentence was intended to stand thus:—"And that's the reason that barbarous customs and false superstitions, w^{ch} you would in no wise admit to be competitors with fortitude in this honor, do this notwithstanding more easily and effectually than that virtue."

P. 10, l. 27. *Hercules.* Though there is hardly room in the MS. for so long a word as "Hercules," and "Hero" would make sense, the proverb *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos* (of which I have been reminded by Mr. Aldis Wright) seems to fettle the question in favour of the former.

The last lines at the bottom referred apparently to the appetite of the

human mind for variety, as shown in the taste for travel, adventure, news, &c.

P. 11, l. 2. *gaines of chaunce*. So in MS. But I suppose it should be "games." The difference would not be distinguishable except in a very clear hand.

P. 11, l. 7. *adventurers*. So in MS.; a mistake, I presume, for "adventures."

P. 11, l. 10. *demaund on affection*. I should have preferred "dem[on]stration of affection," but that there is hardly room for so many letters within the space.

P. 11, l. 22. *gaole*. So in MS.: meaning "goal."

In the lost lines at the bottom the speaker appears to have referred to the pleasure men take in seeing their merits reflected in the opinion of others: whence the delight of princes in favourites.

P. 12, l. 3. *One said well, &c.* Compare *Essay of Love*. "For whereas it hath bene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's Selfe; certainly the *Lover* is more. For there was never Proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe as the *Lover* doth of the Person loved. And, therefore, it was well said *That it is impossible to love and to be wise*."

P. 12, l. 15. *languishing and wearines*. Compare, *Vita sine proposito languida et vaga est*. *Adv. of Learn.* p. 73.

P. 12, l. 29. *represented to his imagination*. These words are repeated and crossed out in the MS.

P. 13, l. 4. *he had requited, &c.* The transition from the second to the third person here is so abrupt and unaccountable, that I suspect an error in the transcript. I think the remark was meant to be interposed by one of the other speakers, B or C.

P. 13, l. 10. Opposite the first line of this speech, D is inserted in the margin of the MS. But the ink is of a different colour, and I have little doubt that it was added by the corrector, and formed no part of the original transcript; which does not, in any of the other cases, distinguish the speaker in this way by prefixing his letter; although he is always sufficiently indicated in the preceding dialogue.

Throughout this speech and the next, the lost words are supplied from the uninjured copy now in the British Museum: Harl. MSS. 6797.

P. 13, l. 11. *who would not use silence*. In the MS. as it stood originally. "who would use silence;" "not" being inserted between the lines in ink of a different colour.

P. 13, l. 13. *an[d] knowledg mind*. The other MS. has "and the knowledge of the mind." But unless there was some interlineation, there cannot

have been so many words in this MS.; and it seems not unlikely that the obscurity of the original, due to over condensation, was supposed by some reader to be owing to the loss of a word or two, which he thus supplied. But though the addition seems to make the sentence easier, I am inclined to think that it loses the meaning. I do not think Bacon meant to say that the mind *and* its knowledge, (i. e. the mind and the knowledge together) is the man, but that as the mind is the man, so knowledge is the mind; and if an interlineation were allowed, I would insert "is the." "The mind is the man, and knowledge is the mind." Had this, however, been really the reading of the original, it would have been less easy to account for the alteration; for the sentence would not have seemed incomplete or incorrect.

P. 13, l. 16. *a double of that which is.* Compare *Job*, chap. ii. vv. 5, 6. "But oh that God would speak, and open his lips against thee; and that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom, *that they are double to that which is.*" I do not know whether the coincidence of expression is enough to prove that Bacon had this passage in his mind; but it is one in which it seems to me very likely that he would find the meaning expressed in the text. Knowledge is the reflected image of the thing itself. The mind is only the reflector.

P. 13, l. 16-19. *Are the pleasures of the affections . . . facietie.* Compare *Advancement of Learning*, Book I. p. 43 b,—“For shall the pleasures of the affections so exceede the pleasure of the sense, as much as the obtaining of desire or victorie exceedeth a song or a dinner? and must not of consequence the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceede the pleasures of the affections? we see in all other pleasures there is facietie; and after they be used their verdour departeth. . . . But of knowledge there is no facietie, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable.”

P. 13, l. 19. *Is not that knowledge alone, &c.* So in MS. The other MS. has “Is it not knowledge alone, &c.; which seems to be the better reading.”

P. 13, l. 22. *these be the cloudes, &c.* In the MS. a line is drawn through “these,” but, I think, by a later pen; and it looks like a critic’s correction.

P. 13, l. 25. *a respect.* So in this MS. The other has “prospect: which is the form of the word always used by Bacon in his later writings; “respect” being appropriated to the sense of “consideration.” It is found, however, nearly in the same sense it has here, in a thing of the same kind written a year or two after; and it is probably no error; but only a use of the word which custom did not take up. The first counsellor of the Prince of Purpoole (*Gesta Greyorum*, p. 33) says, “in your later Years you shall find a sweet Respect into the Adventures of your Youth:” using the word much as we now use *retrospect*; a looking back upon. Here it is used for looking

down upon; as in the famous passage of Lucretius, which Bacon was, no doubt, thinking of. See *Adv. of Learn.* Book I. p. 44.

P. 14, l. 1. *or the arte of reafon*, &c. Here we have the true explanation of a very obscure passage in Stephens' MS., where the sentence stands thus:—"I do not doubt but that common notions, which we call reason, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, *are the art of reason and studies.*" The words "may have use in popular" had been omitted by some transcriber. Then some reader, finding the sentence incomplete and unintelligible, restored the syntax by altering "or" into "are," and inserting "and" between "reason" and "studies;" after which it would have required a very fagacious critic to recover the writer's real meaning; which without the correction would not have been at all hopeless.

P. 14, l. 30. *and Saturn leaveth behind him Jupiter.* This clause is omitted in Stephens' MS.

P. 14, l. 34. *know not feafon.* There is a difference of readings here, which causes a difficulty: the other MS. has "in fort that pretending to know much, I should *forget what is feasonable.*" Now in this MS. the words are distinctly "I should know;" the rest of the line being burnt away, the next beginning with "me," and there being room between, without interlineation, for sixteen or eighteen letters at most. The "me" in the next line implies some verb preceding, and the authority of the other MS. makes "pardon" the most likely. But in that case how is the other sentence to be completed? "Know not what is fit," or "know not feafon," would either of them make sense; but that is all I can say for either.

P. 15, l. 4. *aßeuer.* The other MS. has "anfwer," but "aßeuer,"—that is, as we should now write it, "assert,"—is clearly the right word.

P. 15, l. 5. *refling in a part of nature.* So in this MS. The other has "in part of nature," which is probably right.

P. 15, l. 6. *haue ben in things*, &c. There is something wrong here again. But I do not feel so confident that the other MS., which reads "*the things*" for "*in things*," supplies in this case the true correction. It makes sense. But "things" does not seem so decidedly the fittest word, as to have reconciled Bacon's ear to the admission of it between "things" in the line before, and "things" in the line after.

P. 15, l. 32. *merriting the times.* So in MS. The other has "merriting of."

P. 16, l. 9. *revnite.* The word in the MS. was meant, I think, by the transcriber for "revince." But the difference between the two, in a black-letter hand, is so very small, *v* being often used for *u* as well as *u* for *v*, and *inc* differing from *nit* only in the place of the dot, that I have not thought it necessary to preserve the error in the text.

P. 16, l. 12. *proceedinges*. In MS. as in text. The plural "proceedinges" was possibly intended, the singular verb which follows notwithstanding.

P. 16, l. 20. *amitie*. It is doubtful here whether "amities" or "amitie" is the real reading of the MS. The final *s* appears to have been either put in or blotted out.

P. 16, l. 25. *aunswerablee*. So in MS; but probably by a slip of the pen.

P. 17, l. 4. *in that countenance*. These words are inserted in the margin, but in the hand of the original transcriber.

P. 17, l. 10. *her pſence in campe*. In Mr. Motley's *History of the United Netherlands*, Vol. II. p. 512, there is a passage relating to Queen Elizabeth's appearance at Tilbury, which I gladly take this opportunity of noticing, because it tends indirectly and unintentionally to throw undeserved discredit upon a very deserving man. "Great (he says) was the enthusiasm certainly of the English people as the volunteers marched through London to the place of rendezvous, and tremendous were the cheers when the brave Queen rode on horseback along the lines of Tilbury. . . . 'It was a pleasant fight,' says that enthusiastic merchant-taylor John Stow, 'to behold the cheerful countenances, courageous words, and gestures, of the soldiers, as they marched to Tilbury, dancing, leaping wherever they came, as joyful at the news of the foe's approach as if lusty giants were to run a race. And Bellona-like did the Queen infuse a second spirit of loyalty, love, and resolution, into every soldier of her army, who, ravished with their sovereign's fight, prayed heartily that the Spaniards might land quickly, and when they heard they were fled, began to lament.'" This he gives as if it were an extract from Stow's Chronicle; and then proceeds to remark that at the time of Elizabeth's appearance in the camp there was no longer any danger to be apprehended. "If a Spanish army had ever landed in England at all, that event would have occurred on the 7th of August. . . . For aught that Leicester, or Burghley, or Queen Elizabeth knew at the time, the army of Farnese might, on Monday, have been marching upon London. Now on that Monday morning the army of Lord Hunston was not assembled at all, and Leicester, with but four thousand men under his command, was just commencing his camp at Tilbury. The "Bellona-like" appearance of the Queen on her white palfrey, with truncheon in hand, addressing her troops in that magnificent burst of eloquence which has so often been repeated, was not till eleven days afterwards, August $\frac{2}{19}$; not till the great Armada, shattered and tempest-tossed, had been, a week long, dashing itself against the cliffs of Norway and the Faröes on its forlorn retreat to Spain." (p. 514.)

Had this passage not been given as a quotation from John Stow himself, I should not have thought it worth noticing. If the Queen had been in personal danger at Tilbury, she would have had no right, except in a last

extremity, to be there: and it was no fault of hers that a fine writer chose to compare her to Bellona. But though Elizabeth's reputation is not concerned, Stow's is; and if this be accepted as a specimen of the style of his "Chronicle," it must materially affect the reputation of that valuable work. The fact appears to be, that Mr. Motley, using one of the later editions of Stow, "continued and augmented with matters foreign and domestic, ancient and modern," by Howes, and not remembering that additional matter may be inserted in the middle of a book as well as at the end, assumed that in quoting the description of a scene which occurred long before Stow's death, he was quoting Stow himself. But this is not so. The passage in question, the substance of it at least, may be seen in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. II. p. 534; where it seems to be taken from an account in some contemporary tract, the title of which is not given, of the preparations for resisting the Spanish invasion. This account was worked up by Howes, or some other unskilful redactor (for the fragments are very badly pieced together), and interpolated into the chronicle; but Stow's own account of the matter is in quite a different style. In an old black-letter copy, published by himself, and bringing the history up to the year 1592, the account of the Queen's visit to the camp at Tilbury, stands thus:—

"Now (as you have heard before) the campe in this meane time, being kept at Tilbury in Essex, under the charge of the erle of Leiceſter L. Steward, &c.; the 9 of Auguſt, hir Maieſty repaired thither, where al the whole campe being ſet in order of battell, both horſe and footemen, ſhe paſſed through every ranke of them, to their great comfort and rejoycing, and was lodged that night and the night next following, in the houſe of Maſter Edward Rich, a juſtice of that ſhire, in the pariſh of Hornedon. On the next morrow, being the tenth of Auguſt, hir maieſty returning to the campe, beheld the ſame, they being all trained in the beſt order that might be, and on the eleventh of Auguſt returned to Saint James', and ſhortely after the campe was diſſolved."

If too much was made of the matter, it was clearly not the fault of John Stow. But though Mr. Motley may not have exaggerated the danger that was paſt, I cannot but think that he rather undervalues that which remained. On the 10th of Auguſt, while the Queen was ſtill at the camp, Sir Francis Drake himſelf wrote thus to Sir Francis Walsingham:—"The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a beare robbed of her whelps; and no doubt but being ſo great a foldiour as he is, that he will preſently, if he may, undertake ſome great matter, for his credit will ſtand nowe thereupon. . . . Wrytten with much haſte, for that we are ready to ſet ſayl to prevent the Duke of Parma this ſoutherly wynd, if it pleaſe God, for truly my poor opinion is that we ſhould have a great eye upon him.

"Auguſt 10th 1588.

"*Postscript*. Sithens the wryting herof, I have spoken with an Englishman which came from Dunkirk yesterday, who sayth, upon his life there is no fear of the fleet. Yet would I willingly see it!"¹

P. 17, l. 32. *adge*. So originally in the MS. A later pen has crossed it out and written "age" above.

P. 17, l. 36-7. *or that the Commonwealth. . . . clemencie*. So in Stephens' MS. But there is evidently something wrong. My conjecture was that a whole clause had dropped out, something to this effect:—"Will it best appear in the injuries that were done unto her before she attained the crown, *when clemency, as affecting herself alone, might be freely used*, or after she is seated on her throne, and that the Commonwealth is incorporated in her person? Then clemency is drawn in question," &c. And it will be observed that in this MS. there is room for another line; the page as it stands having one line less than the preceding, and two less than the following.

P. 18, l. 3. *of the wrongs*. So originally in the MS.; but "of" has been struck out by a later pen: I doubt whether rightly. "Repent" without "of" belongs I suspect to a later stage of the language.

P. 18, l. 7. *that princes. . . . themselves*. These words are all in Roman hand in this MS., as being the principle spoken of. Stephens' MS. gives it differently, and perhaps rightly; "notwithstanding that principle that princes should not neglect (that the Commonwealth's wrong is included in themselves)," &c.

P. 18, l. 27. *the myne*. So written in the MS. plainly enough; but it should be "mynt."

P. 18, l. 36. *compassions*. All that follows from this word to the end of p. 20, is supplied from Stephens' MS.; a whole leaf having been lost out of this.

P. 19, l. 7. *excepted*. So in MS.; a mistake, I presume, for "accepted." On the 11th of March 1586-7, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to confer with the Lords and invite them to join "in a contribution or Benevolence for the charges of the Low Countries' wars, which they of the House of Commons meant to offer unto her Majesty." (Dr. Ewes, p. 386.) The Lords declined, and it was resolved that each House should proceed by itself. On the 18th the Queen gave audience on the subject to a committee of the House of Commons, (Id. p. 416), at which, as no more was heard of it, I conclude that the offer was made and declined. See *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. p. 65.

¹ Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*. Vol. II. p. 389.

P. 19, l. 9. *fales*. The MS. has "*faills* of land," and it is so printed in Stephens' collection; but I think the word must have been "*fales*."

P. 20, l. 3-4. *Tutus, &c.* The MS. has *cura* and *feges*.

P. 20, l. 20. *the merit of her neyghbors*. So MS. It should probably be "*her merit*;" but at any rate it means what she has merited of her neighbours, not what her neighbours have merited.

P. 20, l. 21. *tymes*. "*Things*" in MS., a mistake very easily made in the handwriting of that time.

P. 20, l. 27. *not remisse of affayres from kings*. So in MS. There must be something wrong: I had suggested "*not in commission of affairs from kings*;" but I am not at all satisfied with the conjecture.

P. 20, l. 31. *the auncient nobilitie of this realme*. So MS. It ought apparently to be "*that realm*;" for "*this realm*" would be England, which cannot have been meant.

P. 20, l. 35. *restored the nobilitie to their degree*. Alluding to the peace concluded in July 1560.

P. 20, l. 40. *fought and required*. So in the MS. The clause "*by the king's best and truest servants*" appears to have dropped out. See *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. pp. 133 (note 1) 187.

P. 20, l. 4. *w^{ch} place. . . . sinceritie*. The MS. has "*with peace*" and "*fecuritie*," and so it is printed in Stephens' collection. The corrections are my own conjectures, but I presume there can be no doubt about them; unless "*piece*" be preferred to "*place*." Compare *Observations on a Libel*; "*which forces of her Majesty prevailed so far as to be possessed of the Castle of Edinburgh, the principal piece of that kingdom; which nevertheless her Majesty incontinently with all honour and sincerity restored, after she had put the king into good and faithful hands; and so ever since in all the occasions of intestine troubles, whereunto that nation hath been ever subject, she hath performed unto the king all possible good offices, and such as he doth with all good affection acknowledge.*" *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. p. 188. The MS. in the British Museum, which is the only authority for this part of the speech, is so full of inaccuracies, that I have not thought it necessary to treat it with the same respect which I have used towards the Northumberland House MS. and preserve even the errors in the text.

P. 21, l. 1. *Faithful bandes*. We have seen some instances in which the corrector of the Northumberland House MS. (to which we now return) has endeavoured to improve the style. In this place he appears to have disapproved the sense; for he has substituted "*faithless*" for "*faithful*," and drawn a line through the remainder of the sentence. Without knowing what alteration he had made in the beginning, it is impossible to know what sense he had substituted. But it looks as if he could not allow that Elizabeth

was to be praised for her care of James. There can be no doubt that the passage as it stands gives the sense which Bacon himself intended; see the quotation in the last note from his *Observations on a Libel*. The occasion referred to was in the year 1573, during the troubles arising from the assassination of the Regent Murray.

P. 21, l. 10. *called in their aydes*. In this MS. the word is certainly "their." The other has "her," which appears to be right. Compare the corresponding passage in *Observations on a Libel*: "And to their aids called in her Majesty's forces, giving them for security the town of Newhaven," &c. *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. I. p. 188.

P. 21, l. 12. *to the supplanting of his own strength*. The letters "-ting," at the beginning of line 13, leave little room for doubt that "supplanting" is the true reading, instead of "suppliants," which is the reading of the other MS.; and of which I had myself proposed to make sense by substituting "whose name was used to her by the suppliants of her strength," for "whose name was used to the suppliants of his strength." But this, though it gave an intelligible meaning, was odd in the expression and by no means satisfactory. In what way the young king's name was used "to the supplanting of his own strength," is sufficiently explained in a "Declaration" of the Queen's proceedings, published by authority in the year 1562, and printed in Stow's *Chronicle* (p. 1104, ed. 1592), "and yet could not her M. discontinue her good intent, but, seeing the cruelties increase, the blood-shedding and murders continue; yea, which was most perillous, the yong king and the Q. his mother being sodainly assailed and found without force, were directed and drawn altogether by the very authors of the troubles to suffer their name and authority to be abused, even to the killing of the king's own unarmed innocent people, the spoiling of his rich towns, the breaking of his best-advised Edicts, the persecuting of his owne blood and his nobility, the destroying of his faithfull approved servants, with many other such heapes of mischiefs." &c. Concerning the occasion of this declaration we find in Burghley's Diary, under the date 27th September 1562 the following note: "The Queen's majesty took unto her protection the French king's subjects in Normandy, being oppressed by the tyranny of the House of Guise; and published a declaration printed."

P. 21, l. 16. *joined themselves against*. So MS. The other has "against her," which is probably right.

P. 21, l. 19. *and by the hand of God*. The word "and" appears to have been struck out by the transcriber; as if he had been about to omit the clause, and corrected himself as he went on. But it is not quite clear.

P. 22, l. 6. *wherein not the criminous death of Guise*. The word "death" appears to have been struck out in the MS. by the transcriber's pen, at least in ink of the same colour as the rest. The other MS. has "not wherein the criminous bloude of Guise," &c.

P. 22, l. 7. *revenged*. The end of the parenthesis which begins at "wherein" is not marked in the MS.

P. 22, l. 11. *preferred*. The other MS. has "preferred."

P. 22, l. 13-4. *wth treasure*. These words are repeated in the MS. A later pen has drawn a line through the first "treasure."

P. 22, l. 15. *the offering Don Ant. to his fortune*. The corrector's pen, distinguishable both by the hand and the colour of the ink, has substituted "*her endeavour to settle Don Ant. in his fortune*." The allusion is to the expedition against Spain under Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake in 1589. "*Don Antonio* (says Camden), base-borne, *Prior of Crato*, with a few *Portugalls* joyned with them, who clayming the Kingdome of *Portugall* by popular election, (whereby even Bastards have been chosen Kings by the Law of that Country,) had loaden the *Englisb* with great promises, being full of hope to recouer his Kingdome by the helpe of these auxiliary forces, the revolt of the *Portugalls* from the *Spaniard*, and the ayde of *Muley Hamet* King of *Morocco*."

P. 22, l. 19. *by the hands of her reputacon*. "Hande" in this MS. the other has "beames."

The occasion referred to was in 1590. See a letter from William Cecil, Burghley's grandson, to Lord Talbot, 23rd of October, 1590. "The Turk had not he been prevented by our ambassador, intended to set upon the King of Poland with sixty thousand men; but understanding her Majesty had great need of many things from the country necessary for her navy, he withdrew his force, though he were assured of victory, only for her Majesty's sake; who received great thanks from the King of Poland; and the Turk himself hath written to her Majesty letters with most great titles, assuring her that if she would write her letters to him to require him, he will make the King of Spain humble himself to her." *Lodge's Illustrations of British History*, Vol. II. p. 414.

P. 22, l. 31. *wth one charge, &c.* That is, without incurring any greater charge, danger, or offence to the King of Spain, than she incurred as it was. The other MS. has "*without charge, danger,*" &c., for which (to make it intelligible) I had suggested "*not without*." But "*with one*" is clearly the right reading. The corresponding passage in the *Observations on a Libel*—"with *all one charge,*" &c.—may be right too, and would have the same meaning.

P. 22, l. 33. *a people that, &c.* So MS. The other MS. has "*to that people that hath been pursued by their natural king only upon passion and wrath, in such sort that he doth consume his means upon revenge;*" the clause about *aratro jaculari* being omitted. The words "according to y^e" are supplied by conjecture.

In reading "upon passion" instead of "by passion," the other MS. is probably right.

P. 23, l. 6. *she bare y^e said Duke*. In the MS., as originally written, there was something omitted here. The words were "she said Duke." A later pen, with different ink, has inserted "*did beare y^e*" between "she" and "said." The insertion being presumably the corrector's conjecture, I preferred "bare" as a word that would do equally well, and might be introduced into the line without interlineation.

P. 23, l. 13. *But now he doth, &c.* This device appears to have been first practised upon the election of Gregory XIV (December, 1590). It was repeated on that of Innocent IX. (October, 1591), and Clement VIII (January, 1591-2); though in the last case it was only partially successful. See *Ranke's History of the Popes*, Book VI.

P. 23, l. 16. *interrupte*. So MS. The other MS. has "intermixt."

P. 23, l. 23. *upon Arragon*. On the 8th of September, 1592, Anthony Standen writes to Anthony Bacon that "the citadel of Shuta, in Arragon, the frontier of France and Bearn, was already put into a state of defence, and three hundred soldiers in it; and at Saragossa, the metropolis of that kingdom, they were building another citadel: so that Arragon might be faddled whenever they pleased, being already bridled." *Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 84.

P. 23, l. 25. *in a contrary course are brought, &c.* So the MS. as originally written. A later pen has inserted the words "by it men" before "are:" evidently the conjectural correction of a critic, to make the construction regular. But the irregularity is natural, and the correction is clumsy. Bacon might easily have written the sentence as it stands, but I cannot easily believe that he wrote it as corrected.

P. 23, l. 36. *disfortunes*. So in the MS. originally. A line has been drawn through the word by a later pen, and "misfortunes" written above it. But we have had the word "disfortune" before: see p. 5, l. 13; and it is less likely that the same mistake would have been made twice over in the usual word, than that an unusual form was for some reason preferred.

P. 24, l. 32. *longe to think*. The transcriber having by mistake written "tonge" for "longe," a later pen has substituted "tyme:" an unlucky conjecture.

P. 24, l. 39. *was received*. The other MS. has "is received." I think it ought to be "was conceived."

P. 24, last line. *no small disadvantage*. The other MS. (which is our only authority for this passage) has "no difadvantage;" which cannot be right.

P. 25, l. 9. *a pointe wherein her father, &c.* The other MS. has "her

exquisite judgment in choosing and finding good servants (a point beyond the former),—the intermediate clause having dropped out. The transcriber's eye, in returning to the word "servants," at which it had left off, lighted upon the same word in the next line; and so produced a corruption of the text, which it would have been hardly possible to correct by any conjecture.

P. 25, l. 11. *a profound discretion*. The other MS. has "*her* profound discretion," which is probably right.

P. 25, l. 14. *intensive witt*. So in MS. The other has "inventing wit." The true reading probably is "inventive."

P. 25, l. 14. *and overtournes*. In MS. originally as in the text. A later pen has substituted "overtures:" one of many miscorrections by the same correcting hand.

P. 25, l. 15. *her secreacie*. Here is another good instance of the way in which texts become hopelessly corrupt. The other MS. has "her exact caution in censuring the propositions of others, her *service*." Stephens (or whoever prepared that part of his second collection for the press,) seeing that *service* had no meaning in that context, made very good sense of the passage by simply inserting "for," and left it in a condition apparently needing no correction whatever. But we now see that the real error of the transcriber was not the omission of "for," but the mistaking of "secreacie" for "service."

P. 25, l. 20. *hath notwithstanding done such great things*. So the other MS.; and so the words may have stood originally in this. The later pen has inserted after "notwithstanding" the word "brought," and what else we cannot know, the rest of the paper being burnt off. I imagine that he thought "brought to pass" would be better than "done." But as the "d" is distinctly legible, and it is impossible to say that the next letter was not "o," I see no reason to doubt that the reading of the other MS. gives us here the original reading of this.

P. 25, l. 21. *Let no man object*. Here we have another instance of a scarcely curable corruption due to the ordinary accident of a clause dropped out. The transcriber of the other MS. having written as far as "fortune" in the 21st line, and turning again to his copy, lighted on "fortune" in the 22nd line, and went on. The sentence then stood, "to speak of her fortune that which I did reserve for a garland of her honour, and that is that she liveth a virgin and hath no children, *foe* it is that which" &c., a sentence in which, as there was evidently something wrong, it was natural to suspect the omission of a clause; and the word "foe" having nothing to answer it, suggested one beginning with "as"; something to this effect, "*as* there is but one point in which it seems incomplete, so it is that" &c. It now appears however, that "foe" is itself a corruption, the true reading being "for":

which the transcriber mis-read into "foe," because it left the sentence less obviously unintelligible. Had "for" been retained, the real correction, or something like it, might possibly have been hit upon. With "fo," it was impossible, because it would not have given a natural sense. As it stands now, there can be little doubt that the restoration is complete.

P. 25, l. 30. *impoſthumes*. The other MS. (which has "forthumus" for "Poſthumus" at the beginning of this line) has "impoſtors." But there is no doubt that "impoſthumes" is the right word. Compare *Apophthegmes new and old*, No. 246, p. 266. "Augustus Cæſar, out of great indignation againſt his two daughters, and Poſthumus Agrippa, his grandchild; whereof the firſt two were infamous, and the laſt otherwiſe unworthy, would ſay: *That they were not his ſeed, but ſome impoſthumes that had broken from him.*"

P. 26, l. 11. *though ſome think, &c.* Compare *Observations on a Libel, (Letters and Life, &c., Vol. I. p. 186)*. "Yet if you will believe the Genuefe (who otherwiſe writeth much to the honour and advantage of the Kings of Spain), it ſeemeth he had a good mind to make himſelf a way into that kingdom, ſeeing that (for that purpoſe as he reporteth) he did artificially nourish the young King Sebastian in the voyage of Africa, expecting that overthrow which followed." The Genuefe was, I preſume, *Signor Jeronimo de Franchi Coneſtaggio gentiluomo Genoveſe*, who published a hiſtory *Dell'Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Caſtiglia*, in 1585.

P. 26, l. 16. *excuſon*. So in MS.

P. 26, l. 22. *and the ffr: K.: durſt never have layd hands on him, &c.* In the MS. the mark for the beginning of the parentheſis is placed further on, between "him" and "had." But it is plain that it ought to be where I have placed it.

P. 26, l. 30. *advife*. So in MS. The other MS. has "ſhee contrariwiſe . . . adviſed him;" in which "adviſed" is probably right.

P. 26, l. 34. *ſending in of Seminaries*. The other MS. has "ſending in moſt ſeminaries," a reading which I had noticed as containing ſomething wrong, but tried in vain to correct. The correction would have been obvious if I had obſerved how eaſily, in the black letter hand of that day, *in of* might be miſtaken for *moſt*.

P. 26, l. 39. *Dawbeny*. The other MS. which is our only authority here, has "*Darleigh*." But the name of the Duke of Lenox alluded to was D'Aubigny; commonly ſpelt Dawbeny or Dawbeney.

P. 27, l. 8. *Newhaven*. The claſe "I ſay Newhaven" has been omitted by the transcriber of the other MS. And the omiſſion has cauſed a miſunderſtanding of the conſtruction, and a ſecond miſreading. In Stephens' ſecond collection the ſentence is printed and pointed thus: "What ſhould I

recount Leith and Newhaven for the honorable skirmishes and services? *They* are noe blemish at all to the Militia of England?" The fact was that the buisness of *Newhaven* had been unfortunate, and could not be mentioned among the felicities without explanation and apology.

"Leeth" means the sieg of Leith in 1560, when England assisted Scotland to expel the French who had been brought in by the Guise party.

P. 27, l. 9. *the Lammas day*. The action alluded to does not figure in our histories under this name. But we have a full account of it by Bacon himself in his *Considerations touching a war with Spain*, written in 1624. "In the yeare 1578 was that famous *Lammas Day*, which buried the reputation of *Don Jhuan d'Austria*, himselfe not furuiuing long after. *Don Jhuan*, being superiour in Forces, assisted by the *Prince of Parma*, *Mon-dragon*, *Manfell*, and other the best Commanders of *Spaine*, confident of Victory, charged the Army of the *States* neere *Rimenant*, brauely & furiously at the first; But, after a Fight, maintained by the space of a whole day, was repulsed, and forced to a Retrait with great slaughter of his Men: And the Course of his further Enterprizes was wholly arrested; and this chiefly by the Prowesse and Vertue of the *English* and *Scottish* Troupes, under the Conduet of *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Robert Stuart*, Colonels. Which Troupes came to the Army but the day before, harrafed with a long and wearisome march, and (as it is left for a memorable circumstance in all Stories) the Souldiers, being more sensible of a little Heat of the Sunne, than of any cold Feare of Death, cast away their Armour, and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts: And, as it was generally conceived, had it not beene that the *Count of Boszu* was slacke in charging the Spaniards upon their Retreit, this Fight had sorted to an absolute Defeat." *Certaine Miscellany Works of the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount S. Alban*. Published by *William Rawley*, Doctor of Divinity, one of his Maiesties Chaplaines. London, 1629, p. 34.

P. 27, l. 9. *The retrait of Gaute*. "In the yeare 1582, was that Memorable Retreit of *Gaunt*; Than the which there hath not beene an *Exploit* of *Warre* more celebrated. For in the true judgment of Men of *Warre*, honourable Retraits are no wayes inferiour to brave Charges; as having lesse of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of 300 Horse, and as many Thousand Foot *English*, (commanded by *Sir John Norris*,) charged by the *Prince of Parma*, coming upon them with 7000 Horse: besides that the whole Army of *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Nevertheless *Sir John Norris* maintained a Retreit without Difarray, by the space of some miles, (part of the way champagne,) unto the City of *Gaunt*, with less loss of Men than the enemy. The D. of Anjou and the Prince of Aurange, beholding this noble action from the *Wals* of *Gaunt*, as in a Theatre, with great admiration." Id. p. 38.

P. 27, l. 9. *the day at Zutphen*. This was the action of 22 September, 1589, in which Sir Philip Sidney received his mortal wound; and it is strange that Bacon in his *Considerations touching a war with Spain*, where he is producing evidence to prove that "in all actions of war or arms, great and small, which have happened these many years, ever since Spain and England have had anything to debate one with the other, the English upon all encounters have perpetually come off with honour and with the better," should have forgotten to mention it. For whatever else may be said of it, there was never any which proved more signally the superiority of the English troops in an "encounter." The odds were in fact so great that it is difficult to understand either how so experienced a soldier as Sir John Norris (who was in command of the service and led the charge) could have risked an engagement on such conditions, or how so great a commander as the Prince of Parma could have failed to improve the opportunity to their utter destruction. "If you saw the ground," said the Earl of Leicester, writing to Walsingham, a week after from the camp, "with the numbers of the enemy, and the advantage they had of the ground, you would marvel that even any one man escaped of our side." Yet what is certain is that 250 horse and 300 foot of the English attacked upwards of a thousand horse and two or three thousand foot of the Spanish, in a strong position and prepared to receive them, and after a hand to hand fight of an hour and a half, within short range of the enemy's muskets, drew off in good order, with the loss of only 13 horsemen and 22 footmen, and were not pursued.

The English reports are so much occupied with the personal exploits of the several knights in that fierce encounter, that they take no notice of the difficulty, and instead of supplying a satisfactory explanation, scarcely leave room for one. But in Grimestone's *History of the Netherlands*, (a translation from John Francis Petit) I find an account of the action, which, though the construction is in several places obscure, makes the conduct of it intelligible.

"The Prince of Parma fearing that the Earl of Leicester might do something against Zutphen went to Buncloo, from whence he sent certain victuals into Zutphen, going himself in person with his vanguard; which the Earl of Leicester, knowing that the town was not yet fully victualled, he thought the next time they victualled it to set upon the convoy: whereunto he appointed Sir John Norris and Sir William Stanley, with certain foot, and others with some troops of horsemen. The 22 of September, in the morning betimes, the Prince of Parma caused more victuals to be sent unto Zutphen with the same convoy of his vanguard as they had before; being 6 or 700 horse, and 2,000 pikes and musketeers. They staying in a strong place, by a village called Warnsveld, half a mile from the town; and so let the carts and wagons pass along; which being discovered by a troop of

30 horse, Sir John Norris, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, Sir William Stanley, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Russell, and others, rode thither, with about 200 horse and 1,500 musketeers and pikes, *meeting with their enemies before they expected them, by reason it was then very misty*: they of the Prince of Parma's side, led by the Marquis of Guast [Vasto], upon their watch-word given, began to shoot furiously out of their ambuscades, being a place of great advantage, as if it had been a sconce: which they on the Earl of Leicester's side manfully withstood, not any one once retiring out of his place, to the no little amazement of the enemy, which being past, *and the enemy not knowing how strong the Englishmen were*, and perceiving them to advance, they sent out a cornet of horse under the leading of Captain George Cressier, an Albanois, which was presently overthrown, and the Captain himself taken prisoner: after that they sent Count Hannibal Gonzaga with his cornet of horse, the which was likewise valiantly charged, put to rout, and part thereof slain, and he himself slain, or deadly wounded; they pursued the rest close under their shot, where the third cornet made shew to come to charge them; but it being likewise driven back, they parted one from the other, in regard that the Prince of Parma began to send more men to strengthen them whereupon the English, *not knowing how strong the enemy was*, withdrew themselves unto their camp, and so did the Prince of Parma unto his." (Lib. 13, p. 926.)

Except for a difference as to numbers (which shows that this account did not come from the English side, for the numbers of the Spanish convoy are diminished by about a third, and those of the English infantry increased five fold)—there is nothing here inconsistent with the facts which come out in the letters of the Earl of Leicester: namely, that the service committed to Sir John Norris was only the interception of a convoy; that there was no expectation of such a force coming with it, nor any preparation for such an encounter; that the English troops, advancing through a fog, came suddenly upon "an ambuscade" of 3,000 men, "the most muskets, the rest pikes:" that the English horsemen being foremost "would not turn, but passed through,"—that is, as I understand it, passed through the fire of the infantry—"and charged the Horsemen that fled (*sic*) at the back of their Footemen,"—that is, charged the cavalry, which had withdrawn to leave the passage clear for the musketeers to fire,—and that this charge was mainly assisted by those principal noblemen and gentlemen, who having been staying by the Earl of Leicester in the mist, as soon as they knew where the fighting was to be, "went on till they found Sir John Norris; to whom" (adds the Earl) "I had committed this service only to have impeached a convoy: but he, seeing these young fellows, indeed, led them to this charge, and all these joined in front together," &c. (*Leicester correspondence*. Camd. Soc. p. 416).

The expression "*went on till they found* Sir John Norris," coming as it does immediately after the mention of *the mist* in which they were staying, seems to imply rather that the mist continued than that it had dispersed. And it is a circumstance of some importance. Both Mr. Bruce and Mr. Motley represent it as suddenly clearing off. "Suddenly," says Mr. Motley, "the fog, which had shrouded the scene so closely, rolled away like a curtain, and in the full light of an October morning, the English found themselves face to face with a compact body of more than three thousand men," (ii. p. 50). Now it may be that there is some contemporary authority for that picturesque incident: but I find no trace of it in any of the original English reports, and picturesque incidents, being easily imagined, require the more confirmation. Unless there is very good authority for saying that the fog cleared away before the fight began, I shall believe that it took place while the fog was still thick enough to prevent either party from seeing more than what was immediately before them. In that case, as soon as the foremost English horsemen came within sight of the Spanish musketeers, they would be fired upon, and would fall back upon the main body. The gentlemen who were with Leicester, learning by the fire where the fight was to be, would make for the scene of action; and the whole 200, thus increased to 250, knowing the position but not the numbers of the enemy, would advance against those they saw. The Spaniards, on their part, unable to guess the strength of the force that threatened them, would stand upon the defensive. Failing to drive them off by their musketry, they would meet them with cavalry: and when three several companies had been sent against them, one after another, and each in its turn had been broken and overthrown by the impetuosity of the charge, they would be in no good condition to molest them in their retreat. For by this time, whether the fog had dispersed or not, Norris had got near enough to form some idea of the strength of the body he was attacking, and to understand that without some very large reinforcements he could do no more. Sir William Stanley also, with his 300 foot, (which Parma supposed to be 3,000), must have come to the same conclusion. And as reinforcements to the extent required were not forthcoming (no action on that scale having been contemplated), the best thing to be done was to get handsomely away. And the manner in which this was effected may fairly be counted among the felicities of the day. The account given in Stow's Chronicle seems to be the personal narrative of one who was present, and completes the history of the "day at Zutphen."

"All the time this skirmish was with these cornets,"—that was the cavalry fight under Sir John Norris—"so our footmen were in fight with the enemy, and by fine force made them once again retire to their safety. The enemy being retired to his strength, all our horse made a stand by the

musket shot, which plaide on them fore, and braved the enimie, bidding him come forth if he durst, but he would not: which Sir *John Norris* seeing, rode to his excellencie and bade him be merrie, for said he, you have had this day the honorablest day that ever you had, for a handful of your men have driven the enimie three times to retrait this one day. Further he willed his excellencie either to send for more strength, or else to found the retrait; which last request he graunted, for that his strengthes were otherwise employed, and so the retrait being founded both by drumme and trumpet, our capitaines came backe in good order, every man to his quarter, with great praife and honour." Stow, p. 1253.

But what became of the convoy of victuals about which all this dispute was? The old chroniclers say nothing of it: and the later historians tell strangely different stories. Mr. John Bruce—a writer habitually and studiously accurate—describing the result of the day according to the best English authorities as late as the year 1844, says, "The result was glorious. The enemy were driven from their position, *compelled to abandon their attempt to succour Zutphen*, and to retreat with great loss in killed and wounded." (*Leycester Correspondence*, p. 414, note.) Mr. Motley, writing in 1860, with the help of the best Spanish authorities, says, "The heroism which had been displayed was fruitless, except as a proof—and so Leicester wrote to the Palatine John Casimir—that Spaniards were not invincible. Two thousand men now fallied from the Loor gate, under Verdugo and Tassis, to join the force under Vasto, and the English were forced to retreat. *The whole convoy was then carried into the city, and the Spaniards remained masters of the field*," (p. 54).

The fact is, that of the two persons who should have known best, one says the one thing, the other says the other. Leicester, writing to Burghley, distinctly states that "notwithstanding all these troops, the Prince did not put in one waggon, save thirty which got in in the night,"—meaning, I suppose, the night before. The Prince, writing to the King of Spain, congratulates him upon the issue, seeing that they had completely succeeded in what they wanted to do. Leicester is not the best of witnesses, though his letters concerning this day's work are not written at all in the spirit of a man who is making a report in his own honour or justification; and Parma's evidence would have had more weight, if he had not in the same sentence pretended to have maintained the fight with few against many, (*a la barba de tan buen numero con tanta poca gente*): a gratuitous misrepresentation which deprives his testimony on the other point of all value. But there is a better reason than the Prince's assertion of the fact for thinking that the waggons *did* get into Zutphen; which is, that we hear of no further fighting; and, without a fight, what could have prevented 3,000 men (though reduced by the two or

three hundred who may have been killed or disabled in the morning) from carrying them in after dinner? They were on the road, not above a mile off: * and it was never said that any of them were destroyed or carried away by the English.

P. 27, l. 13. *w^a was chafed*. So in the other MS. One would have expected “*w^b having ben chafed*.”

P. 27, l. 16. *adventurers*. So in MS. Compare p. 11, l. 7. The other MS. has “*adventures* ;” which is probably right. What is meant is that as they had only the wind to trust to for mercy, so they had only chance to trust to for discretion—that is, judicious direction.

* Warnsfeld, where the action took place, was “about an English mile from Zutphen.” Motley, Vol. I. p. 45.

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